

# TIME

## Nip. Tuck. Or Else.

Now everyone gets work done.  
Will you? **By Joel Stein**





## NICE THREADS

*See the Great. Feel the Great.*

It's the warmth of beautifully stitched genuine leather that fits the hand naturally. It's a 5.5" IPS Quantum QuadHD display and 16 MP camera with an f/1.8 lens underneath it. It's a smartphone that performs as beautifully as it looks. It's the all-new G4 from LG.

# LG G4

[www.LG.com/G4](http://www.LG.com/G4)

Qualcomm  
snapdragon



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## Cover Story

### Nip. Tuck. Or Else.

Why you'll soon get plastic surgery, even if you may not really want to

By Joel Stein p. 40



*The Heart of Chechnya mosque in Grozny*

### Putin's Secret Army

How the Russian President turned Chechen enemies into his closest allies

By Simon Shuster p. 34

### Chasing History

Tennis star Serena Williams closes in on the sport's first Grand Slam since 1988

By Sean Gregory p. 50

### Modern Twang

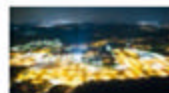
Why Kacey Musgraves is the future of country music

By Sam Lansky p. 54

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## What you said about ...

**THE NEW JOB INTERVIEW** “I thought the job market was tough already. This only makes it harder,” said *CBS This Morning*’s Anthony Mason in a discussion of Eliza Gray’s June 22 cover story, which revealed how personality tests have become pervasive in hiring. The “factor people have forgotten is the importance of common sense, and there’s no test for that, unfortunately,” opined Barbara Pengelly of Williamsport, Md., one of many skeptical readers. Chuck Jones of Houston called the tests “a leadership punt” that could miss cranky but brilliant visionaries like Steve Jobs. Added Alan Dooley of Waterloo, Ill.: “I hope I live long enough to see this feeble idea exposed for what it is: stupid.”

“The practices are dehumanizing and remind me of the movie *1984*.”

ALLAN GLEASON,  
Kingman, Ariz.

**TIME’S NEW LOOK** Readers delivered on our request for feedback on the magazine’s new format and typefaces, mostly praising the design as easier to read. “I’m so glad that you have employed someone like [typographer] Kent Lew—now I can read TIME magazine without keeping a magnifying glass handy,” wrote Marlene Fabrie of Orland Park, Ill. “Bravo to the font designer!” added Donna Watkins of Crawfordville, Fla. “I never would have thought it

could make a difference, but it surely did for me.”

Still, some comments were critical: the new fonts are “certainly not understated,” wrote Jane Brannon, and Frances Bernhardt wrote that “some pages are too crowded.” Paul Douglas of Rapid City, S.D., however, was wholly enthusiastic. “I love your magazine now more than I did before,” he wrote. “Way to go.”

“I’m not an expert, but TIME’s new layout is open, colorful, inviting. Nice job!”

JOHN SOCHA,  
Spring Grove, Minn.



**LIGHTBOX** These are not your usual toy soldiers. For the past 40 years, a little-known conflict has set a group of separatists called the Polisario Front against the government of Morocco in Western Sahara. In an effort to bring awareness to the stalemate, photographer Simon Brann Thorpe painted members of the Polisario army GI Joe green, creating a series of pictures that evoke the objectification and loss of identity that comes with war. See more of these images on [lightbox.time.com](http://lightbox.time.com).

### BONUS TIME

Our updated iPhone app offers easy access to TIME’s award-winning daily newsletter, The Brief, including an audio version for your commute, plus great video and photos. Get it at [time.com/app](http://time.com/app).



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GENUINE

SMART



The LG Watch Urbane, the Genuine Smartpiece. Equipped with Android Wear, it can send texts, deliver notifications, give turn-by-turn directions, sync and play your favorite tracks, and more. With its interchangeable leatherstraps and classic gold or silver finishes, it proves the future of innovation can indeed be timeless.

android wear

*Genuine Smartpiece*

**LG Watch** Urbane



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Get out of the sun. Grab some shade.  
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were born with. It looks great on you.



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## Back in TIME

Aug. 26, 1957 **ALTHEA GIBSON**

*This issue's Serena Williams feature (page 50) recalls our coverage of another tennis great. See more at [time.com/vault](http://time.com/vault).*

### THE HEADLINE That Gibson Girl

**THE NEWS** In 1950, she was the first African American ever to play in the U.S. national tennis championship—what we now know as the U.S. Open—but she lost in the second round. Seven years later, after triumphs at the French championship and Wimbledon, Gibson seemed poised to take her homeland's top tennis prize.

**THE PARALLEL** One of the most remarkable things about this moment in Williams' career is that she's doing so well at 33—and Gibson was similarly impressive. "At 30, an age when most athletes have eased over to the far slope of their careers," TIME noted, "Althea has begun the last, steep climb."

**THE EPILOGUE** She won, and she didn't stop there. Gibson wasn't one to tout her own role in history, but when she left tennis in the 1960s it was to become the first black woman on golf's LPGA tour. Her final years, before her death in 2003, were lived out of the spotlight.

—LILY ROTHMAN

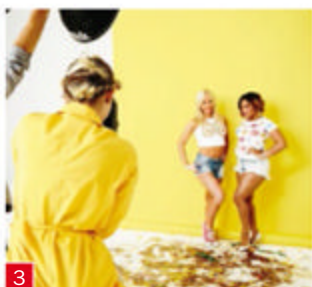


### REGRETTABLE PERIOD DETAIL

Some of the story's highest praise for Gibson came from tennis champ Tony Trabert: "She hits the ball hard and plays like a man."

### NOW ON TIME.COM

Miley Cyrus has expanded her résumé to include portrait photographer for #InstaPride, a campaign she launched with Instagram to raise awareness about the experiences of people who identify as transgender, gender queer and gender nonconforming. For more, visit [time.com/instapride](http://time.com/instapride).



**1.** At Cyrus' #InstaPride photo shoot in Hollywood on May 22, A.J. Lehman, a Boston-area high school student, poses with his friend Kenzie Normandin.

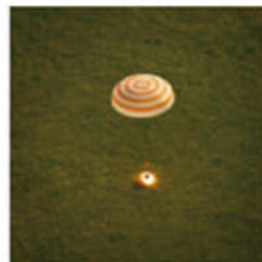
**2.** Brendan Jordan, who's web-famous for vamping in the background of a local-news interview, models his translucent raincoat.

**3.** Biracial transgender woman Precious Davis, right, and trans YouTube star Gigi Gorgeous strike a pose for Cyrus.

**4.** Decorative happy-face balloons set the tone for the shoot. Says Cyrus: "Anyone should be able to express how they feel, without question."

### Trending On

[instagram.com/time](http://instagram.com/time)



NASA Commander Terry Virts, Russia's Anton Shkaplerov and Italy's Samantha Cristoforetti **return to Earth** after six months aboard the International Space Station, landing near Zhezkazgan, Kazakhstan, on June 11. Cristoforetti now holds the record for the longest time in orbit by a woman, besting NASA astronaut Sunita Williams.



PAMELA MITCHELL

## BREAK IT 1. Down

**"Make sure what you think you want is actually what you do want. Diving straight into the deep end can be overwhelming, so it's important to take reinvention step by step."**



## 2. Go back in time

**"Look back to what you liked to do as a child. See if you can infuse those passions into your life now. If you loved making mud pies, maybe try being a chef; if you played dress-up, maybe fashion design is your true passion."**

# REINVENTION MASTER

Do you dread the question, **WHAT DO YOU DO?**  
**Pamela Mitchell**, founder and CEO of The Reinvention Institute, used to until she hit upon her perfect job. Here are her secrets to successfully reinventing yourself so you can't wait to answer the question.

## 3. Test-drive your dream

**"Try it out by taking a class in whatever interests you the most. Not only will it help you see what you like, but it will tap into your creativity, shake out the cobwebs from your mind and get you out of autopilot."**



## 4. JUST SAY No

**"Gather up the courage to walk away from things you don't like. It's just as valuable to figure out what you don't want to do as what you do want to do."**

## 5. SPREAD THE Word

**"You'll know you've made the right decision when you can't wait to answer the question, what do you do?"**

It took Pamela Mitchell years to refine her reinvention expertise to help you find your perfect life, but you can easily master the way you bank in minutes.

Visit [chase.com/WayYouBank](https://chase.com/WayYouBank) to get started.





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To find out more about Serena Williams and the Chase Mobile App, visit [chase.com/WayYouBank](http://chase.com/WayYouBank)



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*'I was drawing self-portraits with the brown crayon instead of the peach crayon.'*

RACHEL DOLEZAL, former head of the Spokane, Wash., NAACP, saying she identified as black since she was a child despite having two white parents. The controversy over her racial identity caused her to resign



**\$10,000**

Amount that an Arizona woman donated to charity so she could use a Taser on Glendale Mayor Jerry Weiers



**'I DON'T THINK WE'LL GO WITH ANOTHER DIRECTION.'**

KIM KARDASHIAN WEST, saying she and her husband Kanye won't name their second child South after naming their first daughter North

**175**

Number of stores in North America that Gap plans to shutter in the next few years



**\$208.8 million**

Amount grossed in the U.S. by *Jurassic World* on its first weekend, a new record

**CVS Health**

The drugstore chain will buy Target's 1,660 health and clinic businesses

**GOOD WEEK  
BAD WEEK**

**Walgreens**

The company's British division will eliminate 700 nonstore jobs



**'HELLO EARTH! CAN YOU HEAR ME?'**

THE PHILAE COMET LANDER, in a message posted on Twitter by the European Space Agency, after the space probe woke up from a seven-month hibernation. Traveling closer to the sun, the craft received enough radiation to recharge its batteries

**'The creditors want to humiliate the Greek people.'**

ALEXIS TSIPRAS, Greek Prime Minister, criticizing the austerity measures hobbling his country's economy as European leaders try to reach a deal with Greece to exchange bailout money for fiscal reforms



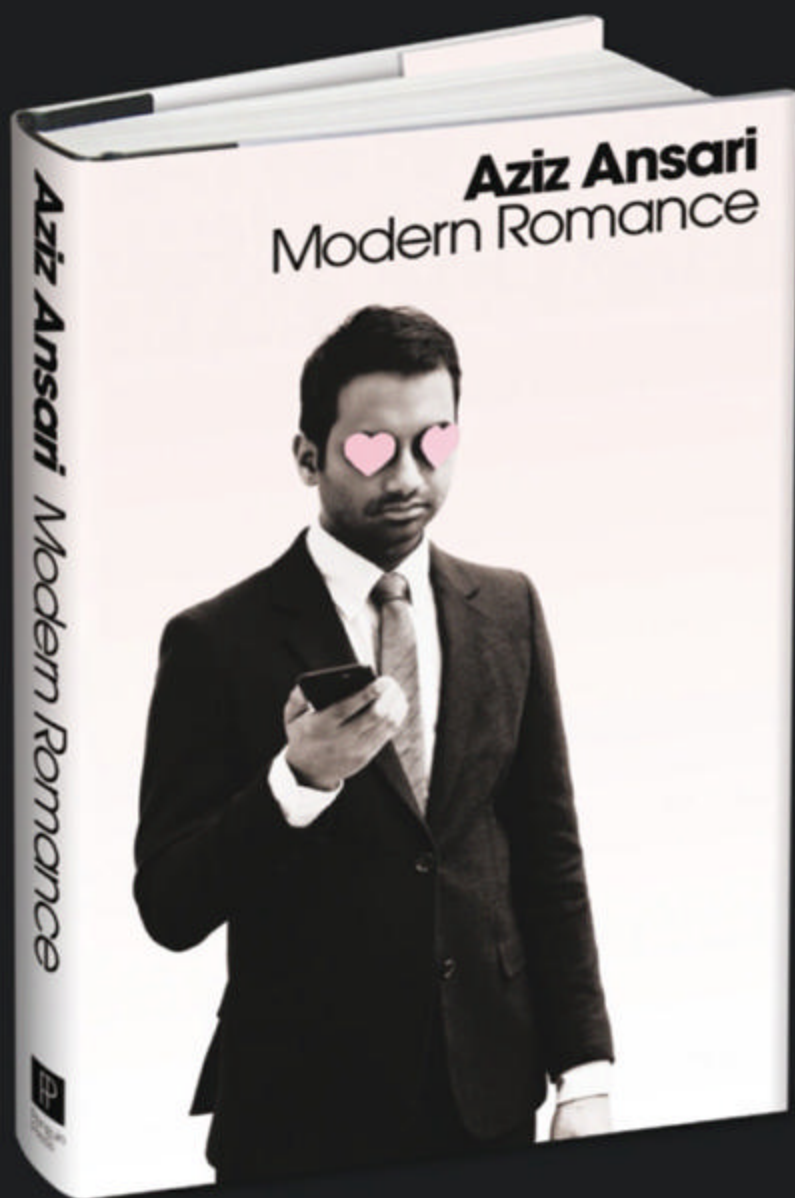
**'It's nobody's turn.'**

JEB BUSH, former Florida governor, formally launching his presidential campaign while playing down the legacy of Bushes in the White House, saying the race is "wide open" and that no one deserves the job "by right of . . . family or family narrative"



# Love: So Complicated, It's Funny

A hilarious, thoughtful, and in-depth exploration of the pleasures and perils of modern romance from one of our sharpest comedic voices



**"Always-hilarious** Aziz Ansari proves you can be smart and funny at the same time...Where was this book when I was 22 years old?"

—Steven Levitt, coauthor  
of *Freakonomics*

"Laughing is my second least-favorite thing in the world after thinking. This book was torture. Not a page passed without an unwanted **eruption of giggles** or insight."

—Jonathan Safran Foer,  
author of *Eating Animals*

**"Essential reading** for anyone trying to read a book by Aziz Ansari."

—Aziz Ansari



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# The Brief

'THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS MY VEHICLE AND NOT MY MASTER.' —PAGE 16



*The Maryland headquarters of the NSA, where a multimillion-dollar data center is set to be finished in 2016*

## CONFLICT

### The U.S. is fighting on two fronts: the real world and the virtual one

By Karl Vick

THE AIR-CONDITIONED WORLD OF Internet servers could not be further from the melting heat of the Middle East. Yet both are active battlefields, and in recent days each produced apparent wins and obvious losses for the U.S. The surprise was that the reverses came in the online world that the U.S. has long dominated and the apparent successes in a Middle East where the U.S. strengths count for less.

The cybersetback occurred in Washington, a place where it's not uncommon to arrive home to find a calling card from the FBI. As one of its tasks, the bureau investigates Americans being considered for sensitive government jobs. There are a lot of those, and each involves a bargain: for the privilege of access to his secrets, Uncle Sam wants yours first. Bank-

ruptcy, mental health, drugs—if it's a vulnerable point, there's a line for it on Standard Form 86, the "Questionnaire for National Security Positions." It runs 127 pages and is checked against the record, including whatever the neighbors have observed. If it feels intrusive, it's meant to be. Uncle Sam doesn't want surprises.

So the cybertheft of some 4 million of those Form 86s—stored by the U.S. Office of Personnel Management—was a coup for whoever penetrated the agency, some months before the breach was detected and, on June 12, when it was finally acknowledged. The intruder—suspected to be China, though Beijing denies involvement—now knows the secrets of every American with a security clearance up to "top secret." A foreign government

could use the hacked secrets to blackmail Americans into spying for it—exactly what Form 86 was meant to prevent.

Washington can't claim that it didn't see this coming. If hacking is new to Major League Baseball—where the St. Louis Cardinals are being investigated for stealing data from the Houston Astros—it's routine for governments. Last year saw 67,168 (known) intrusions of government computers at major federal agencies, 23 out of 24 of which the Government Accountability Office noted had “information security weaknesses.” Another study described Washington's failure to attract talented Internet experts, a “hiring gap” seen in the fact that just 4% of federal cybersecurity staff are in their 20s. (The median age at Facebook is reportedly 28.)

Does that mean America is losing at cyberwar? Not necessarily. If Washington stinks at defense, on offense the National Security Agency (NSA) vacuums up far greater amounts of sensitive material than any other nation, even after Congress's June 2 vote to end bulk collection of phone records. “The NSA has a reputation for having the largest budget, the best minds and the most sophisticated understanding in how to engage in online espionage,” says Andrew McLaughlin, a cybersecurity fellow at Columbia University.

If the U.S. still controls the online battlefield, that hasn't been the case in the Middle East. In Yemen, a drone's missile found Nasser al-Wuhayshi, leader since 2009 of al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, the group's most lethal franchise. His death was announced June 16. Two days earlier, in the sky over Libya, a pair of F-15s guided 500-lb. bombs toward Mokhtar Belmokhtar, the Islamist mastermind of the 2013 takeover of an Algerian gas plant that ended with the death of some 40 hostages, including three Americans. His fate remains unclear.

The world will be a better place without al-Wuhayshi and Belmokhtar, but their deaths will do only so much. Air strikes have been decapitating terrorist organizations for more than a decade. They always grow a new head. (Al-Wuhayshi's replacement was announced with his death). In an echo of Vietnam War-era body counts, the Pentagon says its air campaign is killing 1,000 ISIS fighters a month. That's the same number of foreign recruits arriving each month to join a battle not tilting our way. You don't win a war with that kind of math.

But then the Middle East of 2015 is not the kind of place that plays to American strengths. Yemen and Libya are both in a state of civil war, infiltrated by jihadi groups. The forces convulsing the region—zealotry, tribalism, obsession with history—are the polar opposite of the relentless drive toward the future that has built America's technological dominance. But that's the thing about vulnerabilities. In time, they do come to light.

## TRENDING IN WORLD



The Vatican published **Pope Francis' long-awaited climate encyclical** on June 18. In the letter, sent to all bishops, the Pope condemns the lack of political will for a global response to the ecological crisis and urges businesses and governments to act.



Protesters gathered outside Hong Kong's Legislative Council on June 17 as lawmakers debated an electoral-reform bill that would allow a direct vote for the next chief executive but would **permit only candidates approved by China to run**. The reforms provoked mass pro-democracy protests in the territory last year.



**The shapes of Lego figures are trademarked** and cannot be copied, the E.U.'s highest court ruled on June 16. A competitor had argued the design was merely “interlocking building blocks,” but the court ruled the toys have an aesthetic, not just technical, design.

## EXPLAINER

### The ICC's limits

President Omar Hassan al-Bashir of Sudan evaded arrest in South Africa on June 15, despite genocide charges issued by the International Criminal Court, refocusing attention on the court's shortcomings:

#### LACK OF TEETH

The ICC has no forces of its own and relies on those of other nations, as in 2008 when Belgian police arrested Congolese former warlord Jean-Pierre Bemba for war crimes.



#### MAJOR DISSENTERS

The ICC is not recognized by many nations, including the U.S., where some fear leaders like former President George W. Bush could be charged over the post-9/11 wars.



#### DRAWN-OUT PROCESS

The ICC has brought only 22 cases since it began work in 2002, and the court took a decade to reach its first verdict, jailing Congolese commander Thomas Lubanga in 2012.



#### CHARGES OF BIAS

African leaders like Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta, whose indictment over postelection violence was dropped last year, say the court unfairly targets Africa.



#### CULTURE OF IMPUNITY

Disdain for the court in Africa has allowed Sudan's al-Bashir to travel freely there since his 2009 indictment. South Africa's ruling party said his June visit proved the ICC “is no longer useful for the purposes for which it was intended.”



## THE DIGIT

# 1 million

**The approximate number of Uber rides taken daily in China, almost equal to the worldwide daily total just six months ago**





**ACROSS THE BORDER** A man in Syria helps lift a child over a fence to enter Turkey illegally at a border crossing in the town of Akcakale on June 14. Turkey is trying to stem the flow of refugees fleeing the ongoing civil conflict in Syria. Since war broke out in 2011, Turkey has taken in some 1.8 million refugees from Syria. Photograph by Bulent Kilic—AFP/Getty Images

## BIG QUESTION

# What happens if Greece leaves the euro zone?

GREECE'S EXISTING BAILOUT PROGRAM expires on June 30, and officials have said time is running out for the Greek and E.U. parliaments to approve any deal. No country has left the euro before, so there are huge unknowns ahead:

**WORST-CASE SCENARIO** "Grexit" leads to a drop in living standards, higher inflation and civil unrest in Greece. It also has a drastic contagion effect: depositors move their money out of other struggling euro-zone countries, such as Spain and Italy, sparking a full-blown banking crisis that spreads beyond Europe to hammer the global economy.

**MIDDLE-CASE SCENARIO** European governments bear the brunt of the hit, since foreign-bank exposure to Greece now



**^**  
*Greek Finance Minister Yanis Varoufakis and Eurogroup president Jeroen Dijsselbloem in Athens on Jan. 30*

totals only \$46 billion, according to analysts at Wells Fargo. The impact on private banks outside Europe is manageable, and they continue lending.

**BEST-CASE SCENARIO** The ability to devalue its currency lets Greece manage its financial problems through inflation, while the E.U. averts meltdown by giving Greece the option to re-enter the euro zone in the future. —NAINA BAJEKAL

## DATA

### WORLD'S MOST COMMON HEALTH COMPLAINTS

A major Gates Foundation-backed study found that over 95% of people in 2013 lived with a health problem. The leading issues varied across the 188 countries surveyed:



**U.S.**  
Back pain



**Ireland**  
Major depressive disorder



**Saudi Arabia**  
Diabetes



**Iraq**  
Iron-deficiency anemia



**Burma**  
Hearing loss



**Qatar**  
Opioid dependence

SOURCE: THE GLOBAL BURDEN OF DISEASE STUDY

TRENDING IN  
NATION



The FBI and Justice Department are reportedly investigating the St. Louis Cardinals for hacking into a database of player information maintained by the rival Houston Astros. The allegation is the first known case of cyberespionage in U.S. pro sports.



The number of children born in the U.S. increased in 2014 for the first time since the recession, according to a National Center for Health Statistics study released June 17. Though up just 1% from 2013, the rise is seen as a sign that more women feel financially stable.



Americans gave a record \$358.38 billion to charity in 2014, according to the Giving USA Foundation's annual report, a 5.4% jump from 2013 and the fifth straight year of growth. Nearly half of all individual donations were made by 4% of the population.

THE RISK REPORT

## China has a global trade strategy. The U.S. needs one

By Ian Bremmer

THERE IS NO COLD WAR TODAY, NO IDEOLOGICALLY driven battle for hearts and minds. But there is a contest for influence between two very different political and economic systems, one that will determine who sets the standards and writes the rules for international trade and investment in the coming years. And the U.S. is losing ground.

Democrats and Republicans are locked in tactical combat over two basic questions: Is trade good for America? And what role should Congress play in the trade-negotiation process? That deadlock helped lead to the at least temporary defeat of President Obama's signature Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal in Congress on June 12. But as Washington argues with itself, Beijing is forging commercial agreements that enhance China's ability to shape the next global order.

In recent years, a rising China has used its development banks to begin to chip away at American dominance in global trade, with programs like the \$50 billion New Development Bank and the \$40 billion Silk Road investment initiatives. The new China-led Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, with a capital base of \$100 billion, counts U.S. allies like Britain, Germany and France among its members and further enhances China's development role across Asia. By the end of June,

China will pledge billions for infrastructure investment in Europe.

In years past, China's primary purpose was to secure access to long-term supplies of the commodities needed to fuel its continued growth. But an additional goal now is to promote international alignment with Chinese industrial policy on such strategic matters as telecom and Internet standards and financial

architecture and regulation, while encouraging wider use of the Chinese renminbi, further eroding the dominance of the dollar. In the process, China has become the only country in the world with a coherent global strategy.

Democracy is messier than autocracy—and may it ever be so. But the real-world impact

**There is a contest for influence between two very different political and economic systems**

of all the current trade confusion in Washington is that China is expanding its international influence and the U.S. is not. Beijing is wise to follow this path, and the global economy needs more investment from both the East and the West. But until Washington can build as solid a consensus in favor of trade as it often does in favor of sanctions, its foreign policy will become increasingly incoherent—and America's loss will be China's gain.

*Foreign-affairs columnist Bremmer is the president of Eurasia Group, a political-risk consultancy*

BY THE NUMBERS

## U.S. shark attacks

Beachgoers were spooked after a 12-year-old girl and a 16-year-old boy were attacked by a shark while swimming in waist-deep water off the coast of Oak Island, N.C. It was "like a scene out of *Jaws*," said one eyewitness. But how common—and dangerous—are these attacks? We analyzed recent data. —Justin Worland



52

Number of unprovoked shark attacks in the U.S. last year (compared with 20 elsewhere in the world). None were fatal.

28

Number of attacks in Florida, the most of any state. Runners-up were Hawaii (seven), South Carolina (five), California (four) and North Carolina (four).

65%

Percentage of attacks involving surfers (or people doing other board sports); 32% involved swimmers. The rest involved snorkelers.



## Milestones

### WON

The Stanley Cup, by the **Chicago Blackhawks**. It was the team's third win in six seasons and the first time in 77 years a Chicago team won the NHL championship in its home city.

### DIED

**Christopher Lee**, 93, British actor known for starring in *Dracula* and playing the wizard Saruman in the *Lord of the Rings* movies.

➤ **Suleyman Demirel**, 90, who served as Turkey's President and seven-time Prime Minister from 1965 to 2000, surviving economic turmoil and military coups.

➤ **Kirk Kerkorian**, 98, billionaire investor who built Las Vegas hotels and bought and sold MGM three times over, always for a profit.

### RULED

By the California Labor Commission, that an **Uber driver** was an employee, not a contractor. If the ruling stands, the company—which has positioned itself as a technological intermediary—may have to offer salaries and benefits to a large number of drivers.



Coleman, who died June 11 at 85, on the saxophone in 1983

### DIED

## Ornette Coleman Jazz avant-gardist

ORNETTE COLEMAN WAS THE FACE OF THE avant-garde jazz movement from the late 1950s through the '60s. Then he ascended to legendary status.

The first time I heard one of Ornette's records was in 1959, *The Shape of Jazz to Come*. It was so cutting-edge at the time, the context was so different, that I heard it as weird. But within it were beautiful melodies, interesting bass lines, certainly a tinge of the blues. To me, that album is a cornerstone for the avant-garde movement.

Within a couple of years, the avant-garde started to influence John Coltrane and the Miles Davis band that I belonged to. Ornette was at the heart of that. He was a seeker—he was always searching for something new that satisfied his own sense of creativity.

And he shared it all with his audience.

—HERBIE HANCOCK

*Hancock is an award-winning jazz musician*

### DIED

## John Carroll Newspaperman

JOHN S. CARROLL, THE preeminent newspaper editor of his generation, died June 14 of a rare brain disorder. He was 73. Better known within his profession than to the public, Carroll loved big, ambitious exposés and the prizes that followed. After working as a reporter in Providence, R.I., and Baltimore, Carroll turned to editing, first at the Philadelphia *Inquirer* and then as top editor at the Lexington *Herald-Leader* in Kentucky, the Baltimore *Sun* and the Los Angeles *Times*, which won 13 Pulitzers in his five years there.

Carroll was a preternatural listener who said he got his best ideas from his reporters and his readers. He was also a purist who believed journalists were obliged only to serve readers. "How long has it been since an editor was so rash as to cite public service in justifying a budget?" he asked shortly after quitting the *Times* rather than agree to staff cuts he thought would harm the paper. "You might as well ask to be branded with a scarlet N for naive." —NORMAN PEARLSTINE



## HEALTH Why the FDA banned trans fat



Over the next three years, food manufacturers must remove the primary source of artificial trans fat—partially hydrogenated oils (PHOs)—from their products.

Trans fat can be found in an estimated 37% of grocery-store foods, such as frozen pizza and microwave popcorn.

It is typically used to add texture and give foods an extended shelf life.

But research shows it can lead to heart problems and even Type 2 diabetes.

It may also be unnecessary: companies have started exploring healthier fat alternatives, like vegetable oil and butter, and the FDA's three-year deadline gives them ample time to experiment.  
—Alexandra Sifferlin

PREVIEW

## What's next for gaming—and consumer tech in general

The Electronic Entertainment Expo began in the mid-'90s as a humdrum trade show for publishers to hash out deals with retailers. Now the annual Los Angeles event, known as E3, lures gamers by the thousands, and it's "when the big surprises are revealed," as Nintendo of America president Reggie Fils-Aimé puts it. The biggest one this year? How gaming tech is helping revolutionize consumer tech more broadly. Here are three key trends. —Matt Peckham



### TOYS THAT COME TO LIFE

Chips and sensors are already remaking household items ranging from lightbulbs to house keys. Now it's toys too. Nintendo and Activision announced a deal to create a new line of physical toys that can communicate wirelessly with console games.

### REALISTIC VIRTUAL REALITY

Proponents believe the technology will revolutionize everything from education to medicine. For the time being, games are still the best proof of concept. Microsoft showed off a holographic version of *Minecraft* using its Hololens device (above), and Sony touted its Morpheus hardware for PlayStation.

### BLOCKBUSTER SMARTPHONE APPS

Mobile phones are already at the center of our lives. But now console-game makers are also relying on them to promote upcoming titles. Publisher Bethesda wowed fans by releasing an iPhone and Android game tie-in to its hotly anticipated *Fallout 4*.

VERBATIM

# 'We found a recipe for success, and that's the most important thing.'

**STEPHEN CURRY**, after helping the Golden State Warriors win the decisive sixth game of the NBA Finals. The team defeated the Cleveland Cavaliers, led by LeBron James, for their first championship in 40 years

QUICK TALK

## John Kasich

*Despite a crowded field and a late start, the Republican governor of Ohio is forging ahead with his second presidential campaign. (His first was in 2000.) Kasich, a former investment banker and top congressional budget writer, spoke with TIME at a recent event in Utah. —ZEKE J. MILLER*

**In your first year as governor, your approval ratings collapsed to the low 30s. What did you learn from that?**

Got crushed! The one thing I really learned from that is you really want to unite. And if you have to fight and you divide, that's O.K., but just don't do it all the time. Look, we were \$8 billion in a hole. We had many things we had to do to climb out of that. And once we started climbing out, we were in a better position. I'm also a change agent. And when you're a change agent, it shakes people up.

**You were at Lehman Brothers until the financial collapse. Do you have any regrets from that period?**

It was fantastic. Are you kidding? Regrets? I thought it was a fantastic time. I traveled all over the country. I got an incredible education. I worked my tail off. It was great.

**You have something of a reputation for having rough edges. Do you see that in yourself sometimes?**

I'm from Pittsburgh. We're pretty direct.

**What did you learn from standing up to some in your own party [by expanding Medicaid in Ohio under Obamacare]?**

I've never thought anything about it. It was the right thing to do. I didn't see it as standing up to my party really. I just saw it as carrying out something that I thought was important for my state. Here's the thing you have to realize: the Republican Party is my vehicle and not my master.







America is about to rediscover a land of enchantment.

**Let TIME be your guide.**









## LightBox Technicolor warfare

A group of paintball players prepare to leap off a transport boat on “Omaha Beach” as part of a D-Day re-creation in Wyandotte, Okla., on June 13. The competition, which bills itself as the world’s largest paintball event, takes place on over 1,000 acres (405 hectares).

*Photograph by Peter van Agtmael—Magnum for TIME*

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# The View

'THE PIPE WORK IN THIS BUILDING IS AN ARSENAL OF WEAPONS.' —PAGE 27



*The debate over Dolezal raises the question of whether racial identity can be a choice*



## CULTURE

### Let Rachel Dolezal be as black as she wants to be

By Kareem Abdul-Jabbar

I SYMPATHIZE WITH RACHEL Dolezal, the former head of the Spokane, Wash., chapter of the NAACP whose parents maintain that she is not any part black, as she has claimed. See, I too have been living a lie. For the past 50 years, I've been keeping up this public charade, pretending to be something I'm not. Finally, in the wake of so many recent personal revelations by prominent people, I've decided to come out with the truth: I am not tall. Although I've been claiming to be 7 ft. 2 in. for many decades, the truth is that I'm 5 ft. 8 in. And that's when I first get out of bed in the morning.

Just goes to show: you tell a lie often enough and people will believe you.

The evidence against Dolezal does seem pretty damning, though she maintains that "I identify as black."

But despite all the strangeness, you can't deny that Dolezal has proved herself a fierce, unrelenting champion for African Americans politically and culturally. Perhaps some of this sensitivity comes from her having adoptive black siblings. Whatever the reason, she has been fighting the fight for several years, seemingly doing a first-rate job. Not only did she lead her local chapter of the NAACP, but she taught classes related to African-American culture at Eastern Washington University and is chair of an oversight committee that monitors fairness in police activities. Bottom line: the black community is better off because of her efforts.

At no time in history has the challenge of personal identity seemed more relevant. Olympic champion Bruce Jenner struggled for years with

gender identity and only at the age of 65, as Caitlyn Jenner, seems to have come to some peace with it. The same goes for many in the gay community who have battled to embrace their true selves. The difference is that these people face a biological imperative rather than a choice of orientation.

Dolezal chose to identify with a racial group she was not born into. But the thing about race is that, scientifically, there is no such thing. As far back as 1950, UNESCO released the conclusions of an international group of anthropologists, ethnologists, sociologists and psychologists that stated that the concept of race was not a scientific entity but a myth. Since then, one scientific group after another has issued a similar conclusion. What we use to determine race is really nothing more than haphazard physical characteristics, cultural histories and social conventions that distinguish one group from another. But for the sake of communication, we will continue to misuse the word, myself included, in order to discuss our social issues so that everyone understands them.

As far as Dolezal is concerned, since there is technically no such thing as race, she merely selected the cultural group with which she most identifies. Who can blame her? Anyone who listens to Isaac Hayes' "Theme From Shaft" wants to be black—for a little while anyway.

Al Jolson, once considered the most popular entertainer in the world, rose to fame wearing blackface. He also used his considerable influence to help blacks. Jolson admitted that when he performed the same songs without blackface, he never felt he did as good a job. Some critics say it's because while singing in blackface, he was singing for all downtrodden people, including his own Jewish people. He found his strength and passion and power while identifying with another culture.

So does it really matter whether Rachel Dolezal is black or white? Dr. King said we should be judged by the content of our character rather than the color of our skin, which is what makes this case so difficult. On the one hand, yes, it does matter. Lying to your employers and the public you're representing is a deficit in character. However, the fight for equality is too important to lose someone as passionate as Dolezal is and someone who has accomplished as much as she has. This seems more a case of her standing up and saying, "I am Spartacus," rather than a conspiracy to defraud. Let's give her a get-out-of-jail-free card on this one and let her return to doing what she clearly does exceptionally well—making America more American.

She's given me the courage to say, "I am Spartacus. All 5 ft. 8 in. of me."

*Abdul-Jabbar, a TIME columnist, is a six-time NBA champion*



VERBATIM

**'Not everyone is comfortable with the concepts of self-organization and self-management.'**

**TONY HSIEH**, Zappos CEO, after 14% of his overall workforce—or 210 employees, including 20 managers—took buy-outs amid the online retailer's switch to holacracy, a management system without bosses. Hsieh views holacracy as a flexible bureaucracy that lets employees organize around work rather than a single person and empowers them to make decisions democratically.



THE NUTSHELL

## How Music Got Free

POPULAR WISDOM HOLDS THAT file sharing arose from small, uncoordinated acts of piracy (a.k.a. people swapping songs on Napster in the late '90s). But Stephen Witt's book, the result of five years of reporting, argues the opposite. The music-should-be-free mentality now fueling multibillion-dollar streaming wars (see Apple vs. Spotify) began in 1986, when a German engineer started working on a digital-audio-compression process. Beyond Napster, the birth of the MP3 empowered Rabid Neurosis, a virtual group that leveraged its connections—one member worked at a CD-manufacturing plant—to leak more than 20,000 albums from 1996 to 2007, prompting an FBI investigation. It came too late: the MP3 had already "accidentally crippled a global industry," writes Witt.

—NOLAN FEENEY

CHARTOON

## Low-tech gifts



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS



## BREAKTHROUGH Two World Trade Center

After years of turmoil, new plans for Two World Trade Center were unveiled. Here's what's most compelling about the tower, designed by Danish architect Bjarke Ingels and expected to open in 2020.

—Olivia B. Waxman

◀ The 81-story tower will be the third tallest in New York City, after One World Trade Center and 432 Park Avenue

1

Its stairlike exterior is supposed to evoke "a vertical village of city blocks," per Ingels

2

Viewed from afar, the blocks merge together, creating a solid facade that "twins" with One World Trade Center

3

Each block touts a grassy rooftop terrace, which will be furnished for employee relaxation

4

Largely glass interiors are meant to ease collaboration among workers at News Corp., 20th Century Fox and more



## THE LIST SURPRISINGLY HEALTHY SNACK FOODS

New research suggests that people who eat a handful of nuts each day have a lower risk of dying from certain chronic diseases, compared with those who don't. Alas, the link doesn't stick for peanut butter. But there are several other popular munchies that experts now believe can improve your overall wellness—when eaten in moderation, of course.



### CHOCOLATE

Snacking on chocolate (including milk chocolate) has been linked to a lower risk of heart disease and stroke, possibly because its flavonoid antioxidants help strengthen blood vessels.



### CHIPS AND SALSA

Salsa is packed with the anti-inflammatory compound lycopene—and you'll get four times as much if you eat it with avocado, one study found. Lightly salted chips, for scooping, are naturally rich in fiber.



### BEEF JERKY

There are now grass-fed versions of the gas-station staple, offering high-quality protein sans artificial preservatives.

—MANDY OAKLANDER

## QUICK TAKE

# What criminals can teach us about creativity

By Alexa Clay and Kyra Maya Phillips

SITTING IN A CLASSROOM WITH A NUMBER of ex-cons—two former drug dealers, a murderer and an identity thief—we asked a simple question: Where does creativity come from? For those who had just spent time in prison, the answer was simple: scarcity.

"Look around this room," we were told. "There are about 100 weapons in here. I could kick in that sink and make a knife. I could melt the plastic on that chair and make a razor. The pipe work in this building is an arsenal of weapons."

The more we spoke with innovators in the black markets and informal economies of the world, the more we heard responses like this, which reflect the ingenuity and hustle of those who operate in the underground.

To hustle is to see things for more than what they seem at first glance—to be oppor-

tunistic, resourceful and alert to every little detail around you. And these traits are as evident in fringe economies and informal markets as they are in Silicon Valley tech hubs and startup incubators.

From hackers building crypto-currencies or mobilizing global protests to gangs like the Latin Kings creating powerful brands, the question is how we in the formal economy can learn from the misfits of the world. At a time when even ISIS has an app and a social-media strategy, we believe that there is value in paying greater attention to the creativity emerging from the underground.

Clay and Phillips co-authored *The Misfit Economy: Lessons in Creativity From Pirates, Hackers, Gangsters and Other Informal Entrepreneurs*

# Would the Iran nuclear deal be good for the U.S.?

*The U.S. and Iran have set a June 30 deadline to complete a deal to curb Tehran's nuclear program. But experts disagree on how effective an agreement will be—and who will be the ultimate winner*

## Yes. It buys time

By Gary Samore

INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATORS LED BY THE U.S. and Iran must resolve a number of critical issues to reach a comprehensive nuclear agreement by the self-imposed deadline of June 30. But the debate in Washington has already become polarized. Supporters of the emerging final agreement assert that it shuts down Iran's nuclear-weapons program. Opponents claim it paves the pathway for an Iranian bomb. Supporters hope that the deal will empower Iran's pragmatic factions to pursue reform. Opponents—and U.S. allies and partners in the Middle East—fear the deal will fuel Tehran's support for terrorism and ambition to dominate the region.

The truth is more complicated—and more unknown. Under the tentative deal, Iran's production of plutonium—one of two kinds of fissile material needed for a nuclear weapon, along with enriched uranium—is constrained indefinitely. In addition to modifying the Arak heavy-water research reactor so that it cannot produce significant quantities of plutonium, Iran is committed to not building a reprocessing facility, which is necessary to separate plutonium from spent nuclear-reactor fuel.

The constraints on uranium enrichment are less rigorous and less permanent. Iran is required to reduce its enrichment capacity—fewer centrifuges and a smaller stockpile of low-enriched uranium—so that the breakout time to produce a bomb's worth of weapons-grade uranium is extended from the current estimate of a few months to about a year. Iran could still operate several thousand first-generation centrifuges and research more advanced centrifuges. After 10 years, the limits on enrichment capacity begin to ease, allowing Iran to deploy more advanced centrifuges and reduce breakout time. After 15 years, the constraints are entirely lifted, though more vigorous inspections and monitoring will remain in place for 20 to 25 years.

Critics argue that the U.S. could get a better deal—fewer centrifuges, longer delays, more intrusive inspections—with tougher bargaining tactics and more sanctions. But this course of action is uncertain. We intensify sanctions, and then Iran intensifies nuclear activities. It is unknowable whether this ultimately leads to a better deal or

**'The U.S. cannot walk away from the tentative agreement that it has negotiated.'**

Iran's moving closer to a bomb. But as a practical matter, the U.S. cannot walk away from the tentative agreement that it has negotiated and expect to enlist international support for more sanctions, unless Iran reneges or balks on the bargain.

The emerging nuclear deal with Iran buys time—at least a decade, and maybe more. It does not end the threat. Assuming a nuclear agreement is successfully implemented, the U.S. must take advantage of that time to contain Iran's regional ambitions, encourage political change in Iran—as best we can—and seek a more fundamental decision by Iran to forgo its pursuit of nuclear weapons.

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*Samore is the executive director for research at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government*





## No. Iran will get too much

By Aaron David Miller

ONCE IRAN LEARNED HOW TO MAKE A NUKE, there wasn't much chance for a really good and reassuring deal on the nuclear issue. The agreement being negotiated now may well be the least bad of the terrible options available to slow Iran's nuclear program. But we should be clear-eyed about what else we may be getting from this deal: a richer and stronger Iran, one pushing for a Middle East more hostile to the U.S.—and one that will still retain the capacity to build nuclear weapons.

It's the cruelest of ironies that this issue is now the pathway offering Iran a way in from the cold. It would be fine if the agreement could truly end Iran's

'The nuclear deal will bring Iran money and legitimacy in a turbulent region.'

ability and motivation to have a nuclear-weapons option. But it hardly lays to rest those concerns.

Iran will agree to what will likely be a smaller, more easily monitored nuclear program. But there can be no real assurance, let alone guarantee, that this will be the "forever" deal Secretary of State John Kerry referred to. What is guaranteed—what will be the new normal in the Middle East—is that Iran will emerge as a state with the right to enrich uranium and continue R&D while maintaining some nuclear infrastructure. Iran has played us and its card well, profiting from sanctions relief without abandoning its nuclear-weapons aspirations, let alone its repressive policies at home or its expansionist aims abroad.

The Obama Administration argues that regardless of Iran's behavior in the region, constraining Tehran's nuclear program is important in its own right. But Iran is not Japan, a nuclear threshold state that respects international principles. It's impossible to separate the nuclear issue from Iran's regional aspirations. Keeping the world on edge about Iran's nuclear-weapons capacity and ensuring that the U.S. remains an adversary are still vital for the regime's survival—and this agreement isn't going to make Iran a moderate anytime soon.

The nuclear deal will bring Iran money and legitimacy in a turbulent region. Iran has influence on just about every issue the U.S. confronts in the Middle East: Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, ISIS, Yemen. And while Tehran is prepared to cooperate when that serves its interests, its view of the region is not Washington's. Far from constraining Iran's power, the deal may well enhance it as it directs more resources to its Iraqi Shi'ite, Yemeni Houthi, Syrian Alawite and Hizballah allies and surrogates. And the opening to Iran has alienated Saudi Arabia and Israel, U.S. allies who fear Iran's rise.

Were there alternatives to the deal? Tougher sanctions and negotiating? A more compelling threat to use force or more aggressively confront Iran's allies? We'll never know. The deal may succeed in slowing Iran's nuclear program. But sooner or later, some future U.S. President is bound to confront a richer, stronger, more influential Iran, one with nuclear weapons still within its reach.

*Miller is a former Middle East negotiator and adviser in Democratic and Republican administrations*



◀ Iran's Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei speaks at Ayatollah Khomeini's mausoleum on June 4

## Three bright lights in American infrastructure

By Rosabeth Moss Kanter

AMERICA IS STUCK. JUST LOOK AT ITS crumbling roads and bridges, mis-managed railways, easily overloaded air-traffic-control system and perpetual lack of political will to do anything about these issues at all. In contrast, take a trip around the world. Whiz through the Chunnel connecting England and France, get high-speed Internet and cell service on a remote mountain in Turkey or travel in a driverless Mercedes in Germany

and see the future of possibilities that the U.S. is barely glimpsing or even talking about.

What's wrong with the infrastructure debate in America? For starters, the word *infrastructure* doesn't sizzle. It sounds technical, inanimate and bureaucratic. The case for infrastructure is often made by statistical abstractions, not by emphasizing the daily needs of ordinary Americans: how we get to work, find affordable goods and

services, take our children to school or access health care.

America needs a vision that can inspire, unite and motivate action. The scare factor doesn't rally support, though it can make headlines. The magnitude of the problem and the roadblocks to action can seem daunting. But there are numerous bright spots—some of which are highlighted below—in every mode of transportation and many communities that serve as guides to the future.

*Kanter is a professor at Harvard Business School and the best-selling author of Move: Putting America's Infrastructure Back in the Lead*

### ROAD SAFETY

#### THE PROBLEM

The annual cost of front-to-rear car crashes in deaths, injuries and property damage is **\$15 billion**. Car crashes, a leading cause of death, kill tens of thousands of people in the U.S. each year.

#### THE INNOVATION

Rapidly advancing technology could allow vehicles to communicate with one another, a development that promises to reduce traffic accidents.

#### THE PAYOFF

Eight leading automakers joined with University of Michigan researchers to test how cars with crash-avoidance, lane-departure-warning and other systems work together.

### AIR TRAVEL

#### THE PROBLEM

Flight delays, a large share of which are caused by weather, cost the U.S. economy **\$31 billion** annually. Regulators have been slow to approve technology that could provide pilots access to weather data.

#### THE INNOVATION

Mobile technology can keep pilots abreast of the latest weather information and plan ways to avoid bad weather in advance, even if they're still operating decades-old aircraft.

#### THE PAYOFF

The Weather Co. has used NASA technology to develop a program that feeds real-time weather information to pilots. Known as Total Turbulence, it has already helped prevent delays and saved airlines millions of dollars.

### CITY TRAFFIC

#### THE PROBLEM

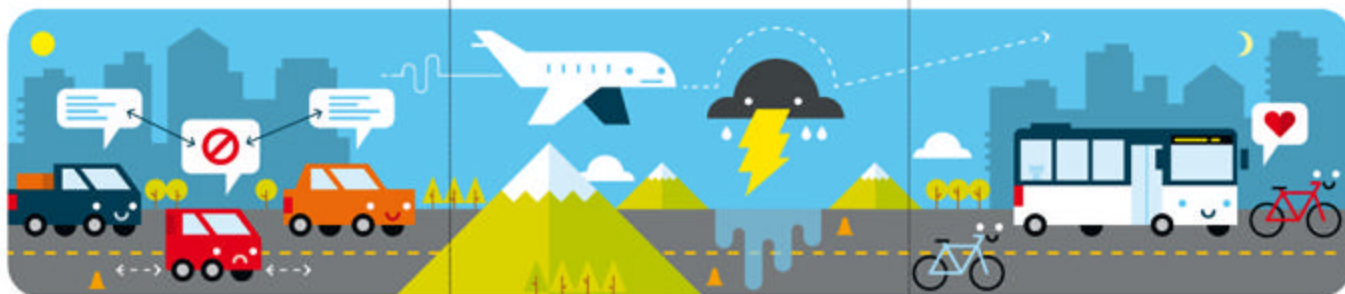
Congestion caused by commuters carries an annual price tag of **\$121 billion** in wasted time and fuel costs. The average American who drives to work wastes 38 hours in traffic each year.

#### THE INNOVATION

City planning authorities increasingly prioritize pedestrians and cyclists over cars. A commitment to public transportation also signals the end of the age when cars had streets to themselves.

#### THE PAYOFF

Bike-sharing programs in cities like Chicago allow cyclists to hop on a bike and deposit it miles away. In New York City, key streets have been redesigned to accommodate cyclists.





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across the nation. And, because our wind turbine blades are manufactured in Fort Madison, Iowa, and our nacelles are assembled in Hutchinson, Kansas, we're also providing local jobs and contributing to economic security. And that unique blade we mentioned? It was digitally designed at the Siemens research facility in Boulder, Colorado.

By designing and manufacturing more efficient and more innovative wind turbines, Siemens is powering America and making things that matter real.



IN THE ARENA

## Two political dynasties relaunch with pomp, policy and real potential

By Joe Klein

IT WAS NOTED BY—WELL, BY ALMOST EVERYONE—THAT JEB Bush didn't include his last name in his new campaign logo. This was mistakenly seen as an attempt to dodge his heritage. Quite the contrary: last-name-dropping is a privilege available only to the dynastic or the notorious, as is the accompanying exclamation point. We have seen Hillary! as a candidate in the past, although for 2016, her entire name has been excised and cleverly replaced by a forward-pointing arrow projecting from the crossbar of an *H*. In any case, the truly shocking rebellion inherent in Bush's logo was a matter of color. In the past, the Bushes have been people of navy blue: Yale blue, a "serious" color according to the founding Puritans. JEB! is red, perhaps a subliminal reminder that he did not take his legacy to Yale but to the University of Texas. (Red is a next-door neighbor to UT's burnt orange.) It may also have been an attempt to reach out to the red states, to remind his base that he was a conservative Southern governor. Or not.

The previous paragraph should be considered a parody of the current state of political analysis. There were more serious things going on in the strong and substantive announcement speeches made by Hillary Clinton and Jeb Bush. The most serious involved topics that the candidates elided. Bush did not talk about the economic distortions caused by the preferential treatment of the financial sector in the tax code; Clinton, surprisingly, did. Clinton didn't talk about the distortions in effective governance caused by the rise of public employees' unions and regulators; Bush did, which was not a surprise. The omissions should be at the heart of the coming debate.

**CLINTON DIDN'T CALL** for breaking up the big banks or for a tax on financial transactions. But she hinted. And she made an important observation about the financial sector's focusing "too much on complex trading schemes and stock buybacks, too little on investments in new businesses, jobs and fair compensation." This was generally seen as a tilt to the "left"—and these are arguments that opponents like Bernie! (Sanders) have made. It is certainly a clear break from her husband's bromance with the financial wizards. But it is more a rebalancing than a lurch, an acknowledgment that the tax code has been unfairly, and surreptitiously, rewritten to favor big corporations and hedge funders. Here's an idea for H>: Why not lower the corporate-tax rate, which is paid disproportionately by small businesses that don't have the lobbying power to generate loopholes, and replace it with a modest transaction tax that would hit the massive stock churning that adds nothing to the economy except fat bonuses for fatter cats?

Bush acknowledged part of the problem: "We will ... challenge the culture that has made lobbying the premier growth industry in the nation's capital." Clinton acknowledged the paralysis of Big Government but not the steps that need to

### POPULIST APPEALS



*'Prosperity can't be just for CEOs and hedge-fund managers. Democracy can't be just for billionaires and corporations.'*



*'We don't need another President who merely holds the top spot among the pampered elites of Washington.'*

be taken to reform it. By contrast, this was the strongest part of Bush's speech. He cited his clear record of taking on the labor unions and bureaucrats who had tied Florida's education system in knots; he said he would do the same in Washington, which is something that Clinton cannot do, given the anti-reform straitjacket lashed to her party by the unions and various brands of "activists" who lobby for impractical regulations. Here's an idea for Jeb!: Why not propose a pilot project for 21st century governance? Why not ask Congress to lift civil service job protections for the Department of Veterans Affairs? After all, government simply can't be effective if it isn't accountable—and it can't be accountable if ineffective employees can't be fired.

**WHEN I ASK** people about a Bush-Clinton race, the most common reaction is a grimace. Americans are wary of dynasties yet susceptible to them—going all the way back to that string of Virginia aristocrats and assorted Adamases who ran the country for its first 40 years. There is a certain similarity, given their policy differences, to the current Bush and Clinton iterations: both are policy wonks, both are reticent, neither is a sterling public performer. But both offer plenty of government experience, a much underrated commodity in an era too impatient for change and not wise enough for reflection.

Both candidates offer something fresh too. For Clinton it is, obviously, her gender. I doubt a man would have even thought to deliver this line: "You see the top 25 hedge-fund managers making more than all of America's kindergarten teachers combined." For Bush, it is his melting-pot family, the joy and strength it and his supporters radiate. Yes, they are boomer dynasts, but a contest between a woman and a neo-Latino could turn out to be a dynamic advance for American politics.



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*Kadyrov, center, stands  
with Chechen and Russian  
officials at a ceremony  
in Grozny in 2010  
commemorating the Soviet  
victory in World War II*



# PUTIN'S SECRET ARMY

The Russian President turned Chechen enemies  
into his closest allies—but he may be losing  
control *By Simon Shuster/Grozny*

PHOTOGRAPHS BY YURI KOZYREV



*Chechen forces perform in a military parade in Grozny marking the end of World War II*

**VLADIMIR PUTIN IS** everywhere in Chechnya. From the facades of the region's schools and apartment blocks, the Russian President's face gazes down like a watchful deity. Commuters throughout the region see him on the billboards and pylons that line the highways. At the local airport, visitors arriving on daily flights from Moscow see a giant portrait of Putin hanging right over the terminal gates, airbrushed to make him look as though he hasn't aged since he conquered these highlands of southern Russia 15 years ago.

In 2000, the first year of Putin's presidency, Chechnya was Russia's most rebellious province, ruled by Islamist warlords who surrendered to Moscow only after Putin sent the air force to flatten its cities that year. Tens of thousands of civilians were killed in the process, while the heavily bombarded Chechen capital of Grozny was described in a U.N. report in 2003 as "the most destroyed city on earth." Yet today Chechnya is the only place in Russia where Putin is so openly and publicly worshipped. The central drag in Grozny bears his name—the Avenue of V.V. Putin—and the local security forces, staffed mostly with former rebel

fighters, now pledge to carry out his every command or martyr themselves in the attempt.

"We declare to the whole world that we are the foot soldiers of Vladimir Putin," said the 38-year-old leader of Chechnya, Ramzan Kadyrov, at a recent military exercise in Grozny. "We will carry out any order he gives us in any part of the world."

That oath of loyalty shows just how deeply Putin has transformed Chechnya. He has managed not only to subdue the Islamist rebels of this region but has also turned them into his most devoted cadres. They proved particularly useful to Putin last year amid the war in eastern Ukraine, helping pro-Russian separatists seize large chunks of the country's territory. Now, as the U.S. and its allies continue to impose sanctions to punish Russia for those incursions, the armed forces in Chechnya have emerged as one of the most dangerous and unpredictable elements in Russia's standoff with the West.

"They're very useful to have around," says one of Putin's most experienced advisers, who spoke to TIME in Moscow on condition of anonymity. When the Kremlin is faced with a stubborn adversary, they

give it a way of saying, "'You don't want to talk to us? Fine, then deal with these 10,000 thugs we have standing by. They'll go over there and bust some heads. And maybe then we'll talk,'" the adviser says.

Since the conflict in Ukraine began in the spring of 2014, the U.S. has deemed the threat from Chechnya great enough to warrant imposing sanctions against Kadyrov and his top lieutenants. The E.U., in explaining its own travel bans and asset freezes against Kadyrov, noted his threat last summer to send 74,000 of his fighters to wage war in Ukraine. For its part, the Ukrainian government launched a criminal probe against Kadyrov in December for ordering his troops to kidnap several Ukrainian lawmakers and bring them back to Chechnya. Those orders, according to Ukraine's Interior Ministry, "demonstrate a real threat of murder or other harm to the members of parliament of Ukraine." While mostly laughing off the sanctions against him, Kadyrov responded last summer by banning President Barack Obama and several top E.U. officials from entering Chechnya.

Many in the Kremlin have meanwhile been watching Kadyrov's antics with





*Chechen boys work to memorize the Quran at a boarding school in Grozny*



*A Chechen girl wearing a T-shirt with a picture of Kadyrov dances at a rally*

growing alarm and have begun lobbying Putin to restrain him. Instead Putin seems to be giving Kadyrov ever more freedom to lash out at the Kremlin's opponents at home and abroad, introducing a volatile force into Russian affairs that Putin may no longer be able to fully contain. "The fact is that Putin cannot remove Kadyrov now," says Gleb Pavlovsky, who served as a Kremlin adviser during the first decade of Putin's rule. "It would require a military campaign, and a major one."

**PUTIN REMEMBERS HOW** messy such campaigns can be. In the early 1990s, Ukraine, Georgia and Armenia were among more than a dozen states to peacefully break away from Moscow. Boris Yeltsin, the first President of post-Soviet Russia, drew the line at Chechnya.

Since the days of Czar Peter the Great in the 18th century, the subjugation of the strategic region between the Black and Caspian Seas had been a point of pride for Russian rulers. Losing Chechnya could have set off a chain reaction of rebellion that would likely have brought an end to the Kremlin's hold over the entire North Caucasus, the predominantly Mus-

lim region of which Chechnya is a part. So in 1994 Yeltsin sent in Russian tanks to subdue the Chechen separatists—and watched in horror as the rebels massacred young Russian conscripts by the thousands. Yeltsin sued for peace in 1996, granting Chechnya de facto independence. But the lull in fighting would be brief.

By 1999, a few of Chechnya's more radical warlords decided to stage an invasion of Russia's Dagestan region, providing Moscow with another casus belli. Putin, then serving as Prime Minister, threw the full weight of the Russian air force against the Chechen guerrillas. The Chechens had no air defenses. So by the start of 2000, when Putin took over the Russian presidency, it was becoming clear to most of them that they could not win the war.

As their commanders began to turn on one another, Putin stepped in with an offer for the religious leader of Chechnya, a moderate mufti named Akhmad Kadyrov: either Kadyrov could watch the continued annihilation of his people, or he could switch sides and help Russia defeat the more radical elements of the insurgency. Kadyrov accepted the deal.

It proved a fatal decision. During a military parade at a stadium in Grozny in 2004, assassins detonated a massive bomb beneath Kadyrov's seat, killing him and more than a dozen others. His son Ramzan, who was then only 27, flew straight to Moscow and tearfully received Putin's blessing to take over.

With ample funding and support from the Kremlin (and, at least at first, close oversight from the Russian security services), Ramzan Kadyrov's first order of business was to assemble a team of loyal troops who would answer only to him. That required persuading more separatists to switch sides. "We would explain to these people, 'All right, you're hiding in the forest, and sooner or later you will be killed,'" says Major General Apti Alaudinov, who was then in charge of getting rebel fighters to abandon their main redoubt in southern Chechnya. "Many years from now, your tribe will say that it went extinct because of you. Do you want that?" Many of the remaining insurgents came around to this reasoning; those who did not were hunted down and usually killed.

By 2009, when Russia lifted martial

law in Chechnya and allowed the locals to police the region themselves, most of the insurgents had taken the deal Putin had once offered to Kadyrov's father. It had taken a decade, but Putin had completed the process of making faithful servants of some of his most determined enemies. They would soon prove crucial foot soldiers in another of his wars.

**A FEW DAYS** shy of New Year's Eve last year, Alaudinov issued a directive to the thousands of men under his command: show up the following morning, Dec. 28, at a soccer stadium in the center of Grozny. The orders included instructions to bring rations, body armor, warm clothes and all the weapons they could carry. "We made them believe they would be shipped straight out that day," says the commander.

The newscasts on Russian television that evening showed Kadyrov addressing his troops in the stadium. In his speech, he acknowledged that the Russian military has plenty of battleships, warplanes and nuclear weapons with which to defend the motherland from a foreign aggressor. "But some missions can only be achieved by volunteers," he said. "And we intend to achieve them." The soldiers then joined him in chants of "*Allahu akbar!*"—"God is great!"

Their commanders asked all the troops there that day—more than 15,000 total—whether they were prepared to go on leave from active duty before being sent to fight. Alaudinov says this was a test of will, a way to gauge the fighters' readiness to go on a covert deployment to Ukraine. Instead of sending active-duty personnel to that conflict, a deployment that would mark a formal (and illegal) Russian invasion of its neighbor, the military has repeatedly asked soldiers to go on leave before entering the war zone, according to Russian troops who have been captured by Ukrainian forces over the past year.

As a result, Putin has been able to deny that any intervention in Ukraine has occurred, claiming instead that the Russian troops killed and captured there are all just volunteers. "It didn't bother me," says one Chechen officer who followed this peculiar route last year to eastern Ukraine. "Whatever it takes to carry out the orders," he says, speaking in Grozny on condition of anonymity. He

returned home last summer from fighting in Ukraine, he adds.

Now in his mid-20s, the officer has spent his formative years living under Kadyrov's regime, surrounded by its propaganda. Its message can seem schizophrenic at times, stitching together conservative Islam and devotion to Putin. But by dint of its pervasiveness it has been surprisingly effective. "In every hallway of every school, one wall is painted with the Kremlin turrets while the opposite wall shows the watchtowers and mosques of Chechnya," says Abdulla Istamulov, an adviser to the Chechen leadership who helped develop the re-education program and has overseen its implementation since 2012.

The message of unity between Chechnya and Russia, and of devotion toward both, is hammered home in the region's boxing and martial-arts clubs, where it is customary for Chechen boys to begin training before they hit puberty. Lechi Kurbanov, a world champion in karate who trains the children of the local elite, including Kadyrov's three sons, says 4 out of 5 of his best students, on average, go on to serve in some branch of the armed forces. "Discipline is in our blood," he says. "We can do anything if our leader puts us on the path to do it."

Apart from the region's fight clubs, Kadyrov has built five boarding schools where boys—usually ages 9 to 12—spend two or three years memorizing the Quran. If the boys pass the entrance exams, their secular education is interrupted for this period. "What we instill here is a type of culture," says Said-Hussein Said-Ibrahimi, an instructor at the boarding school in Grozny. "Our boys are more upright, more solemn. You can see the difference in how they carry themselves." Many graduates, he says, end up serving in the local security forces.

The system offers Kadyrov a large pool of potential recruits who have been reared on principles of fealty and self-sacrifice. Intertwined with both is the Chechen tradition of prowess at war. "The Chechens were raised as warriors since the dawn of time," says Salah Mezhiev, the mufti of Chechnya, who oversees religious life throughout the region. "And that's a heritage we carry from birth."

So when the troops gathered at that stadium in December, Alaudinov was



not surprised when practically all of them volunteered for a foreign deployment in any part of the world. "What we showed to all the people of Russia and the world is that we will back Kadyrov and Putin under any circumstances," says the general. "We are even prepared to die, because to us death is nothing as long as you die with honor."

**THAT FIERCENESS HAS**, in the past few months, begun to unnerve some of the Chechens' supposed overseers in Moscow. Some Kremlin officials are increasingly concerned that Kadyrov's forces may consider themselves no longer beholden to the capital. The most alarming incident for Russia's federal officers came in early March, when they arrested a man named Zaur Dadaev, the deputy commander of an elite Chechen battalion,





^  
*Youth activists participate in a patriotic rally in the Chechen town of Gudermes*

and charged him with the murder of Boris Nemtsov, one of Putin's fiercest critics. Nemtsov, a prominent leader of the opposition in Moscow, was shot in the back right near the Kremlin as he walked home with his girlfriend on Feb. 27. Though Chechen hit men have been accused of killing Putin's critics before—most famously after the murders of journalist Anna Politkovskaya in 2006 and activist Natalia Estemirova in 2009—this was the highest-profile killing of a dissident during Putin's tenure and marked the first time a senior Chechen officer has been charged with such a crime. (Dadaev has denied the murder charges.) But right after Dadaev's arrest, Kadyrov praised the alleged assassin for his patriotism, saying Dadaev would “never take a single step against Russia.”

Many opposition figures then began

fearing for their lives. “We knew they were working from a hit list,” says Alexei Venediktov, the editor of a Moscow radio station that is often critical of Putin's policies. He says he received a warning from a source in the Russian security services to get out of town while police searched for Chechen assassins in the capital. “It was horrifying,” says Venediktov. “With that murder, the state lost its monopoly on the use of violence.”

Then came another indication that Putin may have created a monster he cannot fully control. On April 19, Russian officers entered Chechnya from the nearby region of Stavropol to arrest a suspected criminal. A gunfight broke out during

the operation between the Russian security forces and the suspect, and the suspect wound up dead. Kadyrov was furious. At an emergency meeting a few days later, the Chechen leader ordered his officers to open fire on any Russian security agents who set foot in Chechnya without his permission. “I officially declare that if they show up on our territory without your knowledge—regardless if they come from Moscow or Stavropol—shoot to kill,” he said.

These orders exposed the depth of Putin's dilemma in Chechnya. Here was a local official, formally no more senior than the governors of other Russian regions, empowering his personal army to kill federal officers on sight. At risk of looking weak, Putin seemed sure to put Kadyrov in his place for that outburst. But he did the opposite. The officers who had carried out the operation in Chechnya were put under investigation, while Kadyrov did not get so much as a reprimand.

After the incident, Russian political analyst Alexander Shpunt noted that the Chechen leader appears to have “assumed the role of Putin's bulldog” and has been kept on a long leash. In recent years Putin has looked the other way as Kadyrov has imposed elements of Islamic law, restricting the sale of alcohol, permitting cases of polygamy and ordering Chechen women to “dress modestly.” Kadyrov's taste for extravagant toys—among them a stable of racehorses and a private zoo—has never resulted in an official probe into the sources of his wealth, which he often claims to have received “from Allah.” Shpunt, director of the Institute of Tools for Political Analysis, a private think tank in Moscow, wrote in a recent analysis that under Kadyrov “Chechnya has gotten a privileged status thanks to his privileged relations with Putin.”

That status seems to rely on Kadyrov's usefulness as an intimidator. “Everyone is afraid of him,” says Pavlovsky, the former Kremlin adviser. “He has demonstrated that he is willing to use force at home and abroad. For Putin that's a very powerful resource.” At home that resource has cowed the opposition to the increasingly authoritarian Russian President. Abroad it has kept Russia's enemies guessing about where the Chechen fighters could turn up next.

NIP.

**WHY YOU'LL BE GETTING**

TUCK.

**COSMETIC PROCEDURES EVEN**

OR ELSE.

**IF YOU DON'T REALLY WANT TO**

**By JOEL STEIN**

PHOTOGRAPH BY MILES ALDRIDGE FOR TIME





▶ You're going to have to do it. And not all that long from now. Probably not a full-on, general-anesthesia bone shaving or muscle slicing.

But almost definitely some injections into your face. Very likely a session of fat melting in some areas and then possibly moving it to some other parts that could use plumping. Not because you hate yourself, fear aging or are vain. You're going to get a cosmetic procedure for the same reason you wear makeup: because every other woman is.

No, it's not fair that—in 2015, with a woman leading the race for the Democratic nomination for President—in addition to dieting, coloring your hair, applying makeup and working out, you now have to let some doctor push syringes in your cheeks just to look presentable. It's not fair that you have to put your surgery on your credit card just so the other moms on the playground don't overestimate your age. It's not fair that you may risk your life going under general anesthesia just to keep up.

Then again, maybe it's not fair that some women are born straight-nosed and full-breasted. That some people don't have trouble staying thin. That workers with above-average looks will make \$230,000 more over their lifetime than people who are in the aesthetic bottom seventh, as a study by University of Texas economics professor Daniel Hamermesh found. Maybe it doesn't feel fair that a man is writing about this, even if more and more males are starting to feel the same kind of pressure that women have dealt with for decades.

"It's becoming harder and harder to say no without being read as irrational or crazy," says Abigail Brooks, the director of women's studies at Providence College, who recently completed research comparing women who undergo antiaging interventions and those

whom she calls "natural agers." The former group described the latter using phrases like "let herself go" and "not taking good care of herself." Brooks worries that that pressure is not only exhausting but also keeps women forever 21 emotionally.

Having work done lost nearly all of its shame years ago. A few months before she died, Joan Rivers told me about a dinner party she went to in 1973, not long after her first face-lift. Always eager to be an entertaining guest, Rivers shared her experience with Janet Leigh and the other actors gathered at Roddy McDowall's Los Angeles home. "They asked, 'What's it like?'" she recalled. "They had such scars running up the back of their heads. It was like the B&O Railroad. 'What's it like?' I wanted to say, 'You don't remember?'"

For nearly five decades after, Rivers was ridiculed as vain and tacky for her cosmetic surgeries. But about six years ago, people stopped mocking and started asking Rivers for advice. She wrote a book to answer them, *Men Are Stupid ... And They Like Big Boobs: A Woman's Guide to Beauty Through Plastic Surgery*. Women, she found, had become as open about their Botox, fillers and mommy

I would have said  
getting your boobs  
done or tummy  
flattened is not  
feminist, and now  
I'm really not sure.

JENNIFER COGNARD-BLACK,  
St. Mary's College of Maryland professor

makeovers as she had always been. *Not* having work done is now the new shame.

This shift happened partly because doctors got more nuanced and stopped making patients look like tigers with bolt-on breasts. Partly because so many procedures don't involve surgery at all. Partly because procedures got a bit cheaper and doctors created payment plans. Partly because reality shows demystified the process. Partly because general practitioners, eye doctors and dentists started turning their offices into high-tech beauty salons to fix cash-flow problems. Partly because, due to social media and phone cameras, everyone is always on the red carpet. And partly because our culture has become so much more narcissistic that we now regularly celebrate doing something for ourselves as if it's a moral imperative.

It's not just America. In Seoul, Beirut and Rio de Janeiro, women proudly show off bandages in public as if they're Birkin bags. One in five South Korean women has had cosmetic surgery. In Venezuela, being an "operated woman" is so common, many of the mannequins have D cups. Five years ago, Brazil made plastic surgery tax deductible; officials argued that many procedures contribute to physical and mental health. And Iran, where women cover their hair and bodies but not their noses, leads the world in rhinoplasty.

In the U.S., doctors performed over 15 million cosmetic procedures in 2014, a 13% increase from 2011 and more than twice as many as in 2000. Most of the nearly \$13 billion Americans spend on cosmetic procedures is for surgery—lipo and boob jobs are consistently the top moneymakers.

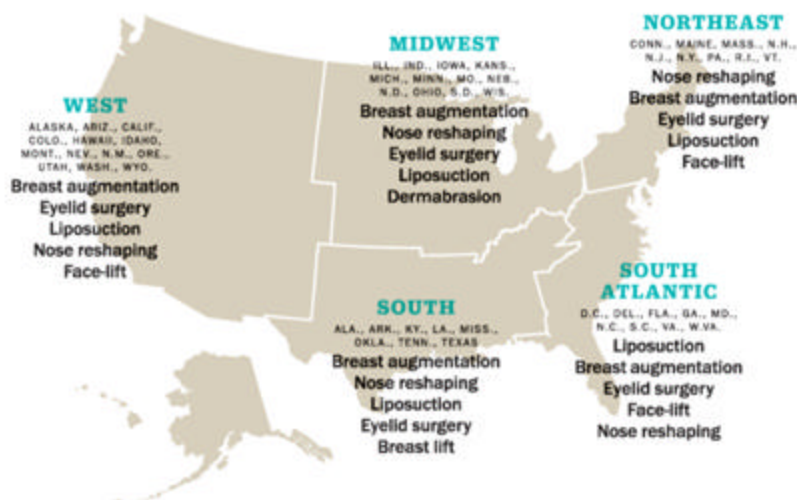
But it's the cheaper, nonsurgical procedures that have become commonplace. U.S. doctors perform more than five times as many nonsurgical procedures as surgeries, delivering 3.6 million rounds of Botox (and other non-name-brand injectable neuromodulators), along with 1.7 million shots of Juvederm, Restylane and similar fillers. Dermatologists have gone from doctors to beauticians: 83% of them provide Botox and similar treatments, which is just 11% fewer than treat skin cancer.

An industry that was once exclusively for rich Beverly Hills and Manhattan women has been thoroughly



## Across the Country

There were 1.7 million plastic surgeries in the U.S. in 2014. The top five procedures—breast augmentation, nose reshaping, liposuction, eyelid surgery and face-lift—account for nearly two-thirds of all surgeries. Here are the top procedures by region



## Around the Globe

Here's a ranking of countries by percentage of plastic surgeries performed worldwide in 2013

1. Brazil: 12.9%
2. U.S.: 12.5%
3. Mexico: 4.2%
4. Germany: 3.0%
5. Colombia: 2.5%
6. Venezuela: 2.0%
7. Spain: 1.8%
8. Italy: 1.6%
9. Argentina: 1.0%
10. Iran: 1.0%

democratized. In 2005 more than two-thirds of cosmetic-surgery patients in the U.S. made \$60,000 or less. Most people getting nonsurgical procedures probably made less. As of 2007 the city with the most plastic surgeons per capita was Salt Lake City.

Americans feel much more comfortable these days with the idea of cosmetic enhancement. A 2014 survey by MSN found that 62% of people would say, upon finding out that a friend had work done, “Good for them!” Another survey, from the American Society for Dermatologic Surgery, last year found that 52% of people are considering aesthetic treatments, up from 30% two years ago. Cosmetic surgery has become the new makeup.

**AS WITH ALL** issues having to do with women’s bodies, there are strict but ever moving boundaries of acceptability for cosmetic procedures. Celebrity magazines and websites commend “good work” with the neofeminist language of taking care of yourself—it’s upkeep like yoga, cold-pressed juices and mani-pedis. But a face that’s a bit too tight, boobs a bit too big,

lips a bit too plump—“bad work”—and you’re cast as sad, vain, phony. “The hypocrisy is pretty remarkable,” says Victoria Pitts-Taylor, the chair of feminist, gender and sexuality studies at Wesleyan and author of *Surgery Junkies: Wellness and Pathology in Cosmetic Culture*.

This moralization of aesthetics is mostly our society’s way of controlling what it deems too sexual or too vain. “Our unease with the technological modification of the body hasn’t gone away. We’ve merely refined our judgment about it,” explains Pitts-Taylor. “We have this increasing tolerance for the anatomically improbable for women. A 36D breast size doesn’t look nonhuman to us even if the waist is 21 inches. Anything more than that in either direction makes us increasingly uncomfortable.” And, yes, Pitts-Taylor has had surgery. We’ve gotten to the point where even the chair of feminist, gender and sexuality studies at Wesleyan has had a nose job. And isn’t embarrassed to talk about it.

Eight years ago, Jennifer Cognard-Black, a professor of English and women, gender and sexuality at St. Mary’s College

of Maryland and a member of the Ms. Committee of Scholars, wrote an article for Ms. magazine titled “Extreme Make-over Feminist Edition: How the Pitch for Cosmetic Surgery Co-opts Feminism.” In a 2013 speech, she reconsidered. “I would have said that getting your boobs done or your tummy flattened is not feminist, and now I’m really not sure,” she says.

Some people use cosmetic surgery to achieve looks that are more about self-affirmation. If facial feminization surgery can be empowering for a transgender woman like Caitlyn Jenner, something that “just makes it easier for her to be accepted in society and to feel better about herself,” as one of her plastic surgeons told the New York *Daily News*, maybe that’s true for everyone. Even if many of them happen to feel like inside they’re a tiny-nosed, wrinkle-free, large-breasted 27-year-old. Cognard-Black feels more certain it’s good that fewer women are no longer keeping their procedures a secret. “From a feminist perspective,” she says, “putting voice behind one’s body-image issues is better than feeling ashamed.”

One of the things women talk about is how to sort through the increasing number of new cosmetic procedures. There are so many options that Wendy Lewis, known as the Knife Coach, quit her job managing Manhattan plastic-surgery practices to start a consultancy in 1997. For \$300 to \$500, clients either Skype, call or meet Lewis for an hour, often telling her about cheating husbands, sexual frustrations or childbirth details.

After finding out what her clients want to change, Lewis recommends doctors and procedures. “If I have a client who wants a neck lift but also has hooded upper eyelids that age her, I will gently ask her how she feels about her eyes and point out that if she just does her neck and leaves her eyes as is, she may regret it. My typical analogy is painting one wall of a room,” Lewis explains. Her clients are mostly professional women.

Women are also getting recommendations on RealSelf.com, a website that rates plastic surgeons and dermatologists, which had more than 51 million visitors last year. CEO Tom Seery, who lives in Seattle and worked at travel website Expedia, launched RealSelf eight years ago when his vegetarian, Subaru-driving, yoga-practicing wife came home with

a brochure for a \$1,500 laser procedure for her face. “I figured if my wife would consider doing a laser treatment, I’d say nearly everyone in America would,” he says.

Seery figured the hardest part of his business would be getting women to go on the site and write about getting and wanting cosmetic procedures. But he was wrong. Women, and a few men, often use their real names and post public pictures not just of their faces but also their nearly naked bodies. “At first I was a little alarmed,” he recalls, “but now it’s become a lingua franca of sharing on our site.”

**ONE REALSELF USER**, Rosemary Hall, posted a thread titled “Had a baby and some people have thought I am her grandmother” in which she asked for advice on choosing a surgeon near Los Angeles. She wanted a mini-face-lift to start a process of beating back aging. Many plastic surgeons and dermatologists advise starting a lifelong regimen as early as your late 20s so you “freeze” your look instead of drastically changing it all at once.

Hall lives in the suburban San Fernando Valley and found the Beverly Hills doctors she met, many of whom have been on reality shows, to be too expensive and too rushed. So she spent a Thursday in July last year with her husband Kevin Tantrow and their adorable 5-year-old daughter Stella driving two hours to Newport Beach in Orange County to meet three more potential surgeons.

A pretty, dyed-blond former Chicagoan with prominent blue eyes, Hall wears jeans, a loose burgundy blouse and sandals that show off French-tipped toenails. She will not reveal her age despite the fact that she’s comfortable telling readers of *TIME* magazine that she’s getting a face-lift. She was planning on telling her family and friends anyway. Which provides a modicum of relief to Tantrow, who—in addition to worrying about keeping secrets—is very much against Hall’s face-lift because he fears the risks of surgery and the fact that she might not look like herself afterward, like the patients on E!’s TV show *Botched*.

For a man, having an opinion on this huge cultural change is as fraught as talking about abortion: it’s both none of our business and partly our fault. But perhaps we can also be a bit more objective about

it, inventorying the changes both positive and scary without having to experience them. During Hall’s doctor visits, Tantrow is trying his hardest to stay quiet and supportive. But it’s not easy.

Hall works as a video editor for a production company that makes reality shows, the industry most directly responsible for cosmetic surgery’s growing acceptability. On Dec. 11, 2002, ABC aired a one-time special called *Extreme Makeover* that got such strong ratings, the network turned it into a series. A year earlier, Howard Schultz, the show’s creator, had been watching an episode of Jenny Jones’ talk show in which women showed off their plastic surgery, taunting guys who rejected them in high school; he had also noticed women in Beverly Hills openly walking around with bandages on.

Schultz knew there was a national cultural shift when thousands of people showed up at auditions to get plastic surgery in the least discreet way possible—on network television. The show so redefined and enriched dentistry, increasing demand for pricey veneers and whiteners, that when Schultz spoke to a group of dentists in Nashville last year, they gave him a standing ovation before he even started his speech. His show also launched a lot of spray-tan businesses and demystified surgery, showing it from the patient’s perspective instead of the doctor’s as previous shows had.

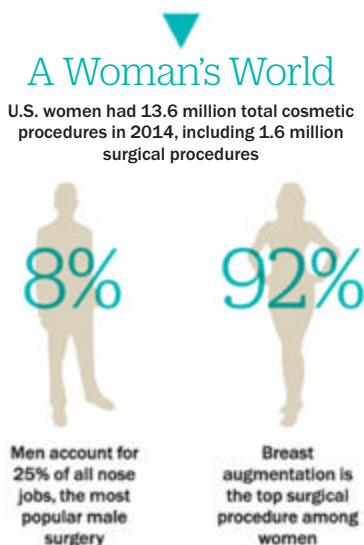
Schultz worked with a psychologist to cast patients who, he said, had high self-esteem but low self-image. David Sarwer,

a professor of psychology at the Center for Human Appearance at the University of Pennsylvania’s medical school, says until recently the vast majority of therapists told patients that cosmetic procedures were a sign of depression and low self-esteem. Academic papers on the subject in the 1960s seem offensive today because they argue that nose jobs are an attempt to get rid of the father. (Nose equaled penis, as all things did in 1960s psychology papers.) “They were saying that 20% of patients had schizophrenia, and we just don’t see that,” Sarwer says. “Now we think that appearance matters. We have evidence that more attractive individuals receive preferential treatment throughout their lifespan.”

**ACCEPTABILITY EVENTUALLY COMES** to nearly all forms of vanity. In 19th century America, makeup was often sold under the counter because it was considered a tool of prostitution. In the 1930s, when hair dyeing was new, women got their color done in the basements of beauty parlors so no one would see them and continued to do so for decades after; now 75% of women dye their hair. And 15 years ago, getting your teeth whitened made you a tool; now dentists throw in free whitener in the goodie bag along with the floss and a toothbrush. It’s actually difficult to find a toothpaste that doesn’t include whitening.

Since Botox was introduced as a cosmetic product in 2002, most of the advances have come in dermatology—many from Harvard University’s professor of dermatology R. Rox Anderson, who helped invent and refine ways to use lasers to remove hair, tattoos and wrinkles, as well as the hugely popular CoolSculpting, which painlessly freezes body fat from a machine placed on the skin, causing the fat to disintegrate and come out with your urine. Dermatologists also use fillers, which replace the skin’s hyaluronic acid (instead of its collagen, the old method), to replace lost volume. In November 2013, Juvederm introduced Voluma, a filler for cheeks that can last two years, provides more lift and has a reversible antidote in case a patient changes her mind or a doctor goes too far.

L.A. doctor Derek Jones, who is 50 and wrinkle-free thanks to practicing on himself, says he has dosed 2,000 patients with





Voluma at \$1,000 per session. He also helped bring Kybella to FDA trial; the drug, available this summer, erases the fat in a double chin. The company that developed it was bought by pharmaceutical giant Allergan for \$2.1 billion on June 17.

These kinds of procedures are even starting to get normalized for guys. More than three times as many men are getting “Botox” than in 2000. Grant Stevens, who has practiced plastic surgery in L.A.’s Marina Del Rey for 28 years, says he always had about 8% male patients until he bought a CoolSculpting machine in 2009 and got ESPN radio jocks to try it and talk about it in radio ads. Last December he expanded into office space next door and built Marina ManLand. There’s a private entrance, a fake buffalo head and ostrich-leather walls in the reception area, leather scent pumped in and a TV screen looping the behind-the-scenes video of the *Sports Illustrated* Swimsuit Issue in the bathroom. “I tried to get beer, but I couldn’t,” Stevens says. “Medical board.” Now 40% of his patients are men, and his nine CoolSculpting machines (he often hooks two simultaneously to one busy exec to save time) deliver the gateway procedure: about half return to do something else.

Inside, there’s the Bear’s Lair for laser hair removal, the Lion’s Den for hair replacement and the Dog House for facial-like spa treatments. Bob Van Dine, the co-founder of the St. Ives skin-care line, sits with an ice pack on his face after some fillers, Botox and a dose of liquid nitrogen to remove an age spot. “Hell, women have been doing this since after the war. So why not?” he asks. He even got a friend to come in. “Now he told me, ‘I get laid more today than I have in 10 years.’”

Van Dine and Hall, like the vast majority of American plastic-surgery patients, are white. But that’s slowly changing. While cosmetic procedures performed on Caucasians went up 38% from 2005 to 2014 in the U.S., they jumped by 146% for Asians, 77% for Latinos and 72% for African Americans. A lot of that is due to the ease and price of injectables, but a fair number of those procedures were done to give Asians the crease above the eye that other races have, or to thin black people’s noses, which conjures up images of Jews getting a “Diamond nose” in the 1960s and ’70s (named after New York plastic surgeon Howard Diamond)

## The Price of Beauty

From the spa to the operating room, Americans spent \$12.9 billion on cosmetic treatments in 2014. Here are the average physician fees for some procedures:



### RHINOPLASTY \$4,694

Swelling subsides within a few weeks, but the nose may gradually change for up to a year until the contours become permanent.



### LIPOSUCTION \$2,971

Costs vary depending on the surgeon's experience and techniques used. Swelling may last for several months after surgery.



### BOTOX \$371

Injectations take about 15 minutes. Botox reduces wrinkles by blocking muscles' nerve signals so they can't contract.



### FACE-LIFT \$6,550

A face-lift incision runs from the temples to below the ears. The tissue is repositioned, and the skin is redraped and trimmed.



### BUTTOCK LIFT \$4,509

Implants or transferred fat enhance the butt cheeks. Patients typically wear a support garment for weeks after the procedure.

SOURCE: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF PLASTIC SURGEONS

or Irish immigrants de-pugifying theirs in the 1890s.

**WHEN DR. LARRY NICTER**, whose offices are across the street from the Fashion Island Shopping Center, meets with Hall for her first consultation of the day, he asks her if she’s had any procedures done before. She tells him about her 2007 eye lift, which she’s quite happy with and which is utterly inconspicuous. When Nichter probes further, she eventually remembers that, sure, she got Botox in her forehead and tried Juvederm fillers, but it didn’t change her face enough to make the injections worth it. Or even memorable.

Nichter, who has fading, thin white hair and a calm, gentle demeanor, is known for the LiteLift surgery, a variation on a mini-face-lift, which he and his partner created. With a LiteLift, Hall could avoid an operating room and general anesthesia. Instead she could take an anti-anxiety pill, get a local anesthetic, have a short incision hidden behind her ear and be done in two hours right in his office.

It’s pretty much the same procedure that was offered by a 68-location national chain called Lifestyle Lift, which had commercials starring Debby Boone using her 1977 hit “You Light Up My Life.” After expanding too quickly, it shuttered most of its locations in March. But chains for other surgeries are growing: Sono Bello for liposuction (26 locations) and Bosley for hair restoration (71 U.S. locations). Seery, the CEO of RealSelf, thinks a breast-augmentation chain will be next.

Nichter gently pinches the sides of Hall’s neck as she whimpers at the attention drawn to what he calls her “redundant skin.” Then he gives her a hand mirror and pulls her cheeks up. “Oh, that’s so nice,” she says. He advises her not to do the brow lift she wants, which he says might give her that “Hollywood, swept-away, wind-tunnel” look. As part of his regular list of questions, Nichter asks Hall, “Do you care if people know you had surgery? It adds two weeks to your recovery.” She, of course, does not. She does, however, have a legal pad of other questions to ask him.

This takes a while. Way longer than her daughter Stella, who was in this just to go to the nearby Huntington dog beach, wants. But there are enough moms coming to Dr. Nichter’s that he has a bowl

of wrapped Dove chocolates and a stack of children's books for her. When it comes time to explain her bandages to Stella, Hall is considering buying her a children's book called *My Beautiful Mommy*, written by Miami plastic surgeon Michael Salzhauer to help his patients since so many have "mommy makeovers," which can include liposuction, breast augmentation and a breast lift to reverse changes from childbirth and breast-feeding. At the end of the consult, Hall stands against the wall, turning as Nichter takes "before" photos. Stella holds her hand, turning and posing the same exact way.

Nichter leaves and Barbara Kone, his patient-care consultant, who has communicated with Hall by phone and email, enters. She looks at Tantrow, Hall's husband, and asks, "Did you want to stay for the financial?" He gets up, taking his daughter's hand. "C'mon, Stella," he says. "Daddy needs a drink."

The surgery will cost Hall \$11,475 if she goes for the in-office, nonanesthesia version, more if she wants to do it in a medical center. Hall asks if she can pay with her CareCredit card, which, naturally, she can. It's a card just for "health, beauty and wellness needs" that charges no interest for a limited time, then jacks it up so high that the company reached an agreement with the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau to pay \$34.1 million back to customers in December 2013.

After a late breakfast at Ruby's Diner, Tantrow and Stella go to the dog beach while Hall meets with another surgeon, Dr. Amy Bandy. The examining room has a wall of wicker baskets filled with silicone bags, ranging from 100 ccs at the top of the case to 800 ccs at the bottom. Most of the women who work in the office look as though they didn't reach very high to select theirs. An iPad hanging on the wall flashes a barrage of before-and-after photos of patients' breast augmentations. Bandy, an older woman showing a lot of natural cleavage in her short tan dress, has long clear nails, glasses and very little makeup.

Over the past few years, Bandy says, women have checked in on Facebook or Yelp from the waiting room, allowing their friends to comment on posts about their appointments. "I had a woman who had breast augmentation, and in six months I saw 10 of her friends," she

says about how openly—and often—her patients talk about their work. There are three kinds of cosmetic procedures, though they overlap: sexualizing (breast augmentation), normalizing (nose job) and antiaging (face-lift); the sexualizing ones are nearly wholly public, while the ones whose purpose is to appear younger are kept quieter.

**ALONG WITH BREAST** augmentation, Bandy regularly performs two other procedures for her younger patients: labiaplasty, which she says patients often say they would have done long ago if they'd heard about it, and butt lifts. They are, by far, the fastest-growing types of plastic surgery. (Butt augmentations are up 86% since 2013; labiaplasty is up 49%, according to the American Society for Aesthetic Plastic Surgery.) Miami plastic surgeon Dr. Constantino Mendieta, who owns the website [www.ButtsByMendieta.com](http://www.ButtsByMendieta.com), doesn't use implants, which are considered an early failed approach. (Sitting on silicone bags was considered a drawback.)

Instead, he takes patients' unwanted fat, which he calls "liquid gold," and puts it in their posteriors. He's done some 3,000 butt lifts—about 3.5 a day on average. "I'm going to South Africa, Dubai, Korea, Australia—everyone is interested in the buttocks," Mendieta says. He adds that all his patients come from recommendations since he doesn't advertise.

But even if certain procedures get normalized, new ones freak people out. Though it's uncommon, last year the *New York Times* and the *Daily Mail* reported on women having hand lifts right after getting engaged to show off their rings on Facebook and Instagram. Los Angeles podiatrist Dr. Ali Sadrieh administers the Cinderella procedure to his patients so they can better fit into high-heeled shoes. Dr. Sean Ravaei is shocked that his podiatry practice, which has

expanded to six L.A. locations, morphed from the sprained ankles and bunions he went to school to treat to 30% cosmetic procedures—mostly for women who pay \$2,000 to \$4,000 to shorten an abnormally long toe.

"I started doing this in Philadelphia in 2004. This lady came to the office and said she didn't like the way her toe looked, and we made it shorter for her. She told her friends, and more people came. That was in Philadelphia, where many, many people are obese and people do not care much about their looks," he says.

Hall's main concern is that the results of her face-lift look natural. This is what everyone says to a plastic surgeon, and it means nothing. Bandy doesn't perform mini-face-lifts because, she says, patients don't see enough change to make the pain and money worth it. The problem is that every micro-demographic thinks that something else is natural. "Look at the difference between the Real Housewives," says Wendy Lewis, the cosmetic-procedure consultant. "Orange County is big boobs. New Jersey is rhinoplasty. Atlanta is the South, and in the South, lips are big."

Scott Westerfeld, the author of *The Uglies*, a sci-fi series for teens about a future in which everyone gets plastic surgery around 16, thinks plastic surgery already is used to communicate the same things that handbags and shoes tell, and that it's no stranger to use it that way. "This is the first generation that thinks about plastic surgery as almost a given," he says. "When you look at a picture, when you meet someone, you think, 'Is that her nose?' Just like when you meet someone who's got red hair you think for a second, 'Is that real red hair or is that fake red hair?' They're the first generation to grow up with the idea that plastic surgery is neither superexpensive nor a weird thing that only the maladjusted would do. The idea that the body is this thing you are given and you can't escape it—that no longer holds."

Different subgroups already have different work: tasteful small Upper West Side breasts; butt lifts for hip-hop lovers; plumped lips for selfie-prone party girls; fillers for CEOs. And there's also a very specific generic look. "There's a plastic-surgery look that doesn't compete with the natural look and indicates

Hall's main concern is that her face-lift look natural. This is what everyone says to a plastic surgeon, and it means nothing





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class privilege to the time and money it takes to maintain such a face,” says Kjerstin Gruys, a sociologist at Stanford University. “My concern is the same way bad teeth are a risk in the business world, soon having certain natural facial features as far as aging might be a class signifier.”

Hall’s third stop is Dr. Steven Daines, who shows her a PowerPoint presentation about the face-lift procedure she wants. A few days later, he mails her a handwritten note thanking her for her visit. Plastic surgeons became salespeople in the 1980s, when the medical industry was deregulated and physicians were allowed to advertise. Many now have publicists. And regular physicians and eye doctors have packed their offices with more brochures than a Days Inn lobby. Increasingly, not only is the line between doctor (laser resurfacing) and spa (microdermabrasion)

blurred, but between doctor and Sephora salesperson.

**A FEW DAYS** after Hall’s daylong doctor-shopping trip to Orange County, she posts on RealSelf that she’s chosen Dr. Nichter and scheduled a face-lift for when she has time off work to recover. She chose Nichter because he was thorough, had a lot of experience and was a little cheaper, plus she loved his assistant. A week later another user, Angie, commented on Hall’s announcement: “How exciting that you settled on a doctor and a surgery date!” Angie, who lives in Seattle, posts pictures of herself and is satisfied with her lip and nose jobs, though she thinks laser hair removal isn’t worth it.

But in December, Hall decided, like so many other patients, not to get the surgery and opted instead for noninvasive

procedures. She had Dr. Nichter liposuction her chin and transfer the fat to fill under her eyes, her nasiolabial folds and marionette lines. And she’s very happy. “I was just laid off, so I’m really glad I had the procedure done,” she says. “I’ll feel more confident on interviews, especially once the lipo scar on my chin has smoothed out.” She recently looked at her wedding video and couldn’t focus on anything but her chin. “Before if someone took a picture of me, I’d hate it and not look at it. Now I’m taking selfies,” she says.

All this sisterly support is real, but it’s nuanced and sometimes backhanded. Judging used to be simple. Your friend got plastic surgery; you pretended you didn’t notice and then told all your mutual acquaintances she must really hate herself to go and cut up her face like that. But now you’ve got to feel everyone out. Just fillers? Looks good. Botox around the eyes? Yeah, I guess that’s O.K. Laser resurfacing, tooth whitening, microdermabrasion? That’s basic upkeep. And a mommy makeover that just gets you back to where you were in the first place? Only fair, right?

There’s no judging at the Aesthetic Meeting 2014 in the Moscone Center in San Francisco. At plastic surgery’s biggest convention, no one uses the phrase *plastic surgery*; the preference is for terms like *realization*. There are a lot of new products on display, including a cheetah-print “jaw bra,” for the chin-implant seeker with style.

At the booth for CoolSculpting, Becky Thomas, a mom of six from Hopland, Calif., who looks like she could be Tina Fey’s aunt, gets the procedure done in front of a crowd, showing off the product for the company in exchange for the service. Thomas had already gotten some back fat zapped. “It’s not a good look,” she says. “I would stand in front of the mirror and grab my fat and say, I don’t deserve that.”

Maybe Thomas is right. Maybe she doesn’t deserve that fat. Maybe none of us do. But then, of course, all of our friends are going to have to keep up with us. And then all of their friends, until everyone is getting every procedure they possibly can. And there were an awful lot of booths at the Moscone Center. —With reporting by KATY STEINMETZ and STEVEN BOROWIEC





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# Halfway to History

Finally at ease, Serena Williams could win the first Grand Slam in over 25 years

By Sean Gregory







IT WAS MIDWAY through the French Open final on June 7, and Serena Williams' *F* bombs were flying faster than her bullet serves. "Aaaaaaaah!" and "Come on!" and choice four-letter exertions echoed around the red clay court as the world's best women's player bumbled away a comfortable advantage over lower-seeded Lucie Safarova. "I'm like, 'How can you miss that, Serena? What are you doing out there?'" Williams tells TIME. "'You make this shot a million times. Why are you missing it now?' I'm trying to get myself boosted." Tied 2-2 in the decisive third set, Williams aced Safarova and dropped another loud *F* bomb. Boosted. She would go on to win four straight games, closing out her 20th major tournament victory and pulling within two more of the Grand Slam, a sweep of all four major tournaments (the Australian, French and U.S. Opens, as well as Wimbledon) in the same calendar year and the rarest prize in tennis. That Williams did it while dealing with a nasty flu—she spent a few days in bed after the win—floored even those who have a personal stake in the Greatest of All Time

*Williams' French Open victory was her 20th major win, four behind the women's all-time career record*

debate. “The way she digs her way out of holes,” marvels tennis legend Chris Evert, “is not human, really.”

For the first time, at 33 years old and in the 20th year of a professional career that many in the tennis world wrote off a decade ago—too focused on fashion, too prone to injury, too disengaged—Williams will enter Wimbledon on June 29 having won both the Australian and French Opens in the same year. No women’s player has gotten this close to a Grand Slam since Jennifer Capriati in 2001. Actually winning one is rarer still. No player has won the Slam since Steffi Graf in 1988. The last man to do it was Rod Laver in 1969—a drought nine years longer than that other famous interlude between winning streaks, the just-ended wait for horse racing’s Triple Crown.

And no wonder. The Grand Slam requires winning 28 straight matches, on three different surfaces, on three different continents. Players start off on the sturdy hard courts in Australia, then slide on dirt chasing the slow, high bounces at Roland Garros. They adjust a few weeks later to the fast, low bounces of Wimbledon grass before returning to the hard stuff in front of boisterous U.S. Open crowds. Each surface caters to different strengths. Plus, for Williams’ opponents, facing her is often the match of their lives. “There are a lot of players who would love to beat you because their careers are on the line,” says Laver. With a Slam in reach, the target on Williams’ back only gets bigger.

**ON THE PHONE** from her home in South Florida a few hours after arriving from Paris, Williams says she has finally learned how to take the pressure in stride. “I don’t feel like if I don’t get a Grand Slam, it’s going to ruin my career,” she says. “I don’t need that to define my career.”

There is a certain Zen to Williams these days—on-court sailor mouth aside. The first five times she won the Australian, Williams flamed out in the Paris dirt. She admits that thoughts of a Slam led her to press too hard. “Generally, I put a lot of pressure on myself, but now I’m putting less and less,” Williams says. “And I’m getting better and better. If I had just thought of this equation years ago, it could have been crazy.”

The chilled-out Williams has been on a serious roll, having won three straight



Williams with the Coupe Suzanne Lenglen trophy after the French Open. Next stop: Wimbledon

majors dating back to the 2014 U.S. Open. She’s the oldest player in history to take three in a row. “Holding three at my age is pretty awesome,” she says. With expectations raised about a Slam, “that’s being a little undermined.” If she wins Wimbledon, Williams will clinch her second “Serena Slam”—the nickname given to her sweep of four straight majors, over two calendar years, in 2002–03—a dozen years after her first.

Indeed, Williams’ gritty, how-did-she-do-that play over the past three years, a period in which she’s won seven major championships, should put to rest any question about her being the greatest women’s tennis player. She may even be the greatest female athlete in history, given that she’s in her second decade of dominance. Top players face more global competition than in past eras; we may never see another athlete who combines Williams’ skill, power and speed. And yet. “To get to the Grand Slam, that’s going to be really hard to do,” Williams says. “If you do think about it”—no, Serena, don’t!—“I would have to win five in a row. And that is, um, a lot.”

She will surely need some breaks along the way. Margaret Court says that in 1970, the year she won her Grand Slam, she played the Wimbledon final after getting an injection for a torn ankle ligament. It was about to wear off before she beat Billie Jean King in two marathon sets, 14-12, 11-9. “If it went to a third set,” Court says,

“I would have lost.” The U.S. Open final won by Laver to clinch his 1969 Slam—a match then played on New York City grass, not hard court—was delayed a day because of rain. “A helicopter hovered over to try and dry it out,” says Laver. “I think it brought up more water.” He put on a pair of spikes during that final, to secure some footing in the slop. His opponent, Tony Roche, didn’t, and Laver won in four sets.

Should Williams get to New York in late August with the first three majors under her belt, the hoopla would be epic. “It will be huge today to pull off a Grand Slam,” says Laver as he recalls the relative quiet of his Slam pursuits. “There were probably 10 or 12 reporters interviewing me for various things after the matches. There was no real buildup.” Evert, winner of 18 major titles—though neither she nor rival Martina Navratilova won the Australian and French in the same year—calls Williams the “greatest of all time.” She’s rooting for her to win the Slam. And she suggests that Williams could help her cause by lying low after Wimbledon. “Go hibernate for a month,” Evert says. “Go live in a cave.”

**FIRST, WILLIAMS HAS** to get through Wimbledon’s unpredictable grass. The fast surface plays to her power game: three years ago she set a Wimbledon record for most aces in one match, 24, in a semifinal win. She already has five Wimbledon titles, but a tough field looms in southwest London. Defending champion Petra Kvitová, a big-hitting Czech lefty, has won the tournament in two of the past four years. Sister Venus, another five-time Wimbledon champ who also plays best on grass and nearly knocked off Kvitová last year, could throw a familial wrench in Williams’ march to history.

And then there are the ghosts of recent Wimbledon past. Williams hasn’t made it through the round of 16 at the All England Club since 2012, and last year she was so disoriented during a doubles match with Venus that she couldn’t serve the ball over the net. (She was suffering from a viral infection.)

But back in the Florida sun, Williams gets into the Grand Slam spirit. “Here I come,” she says. “No pressure.” Then she lets out a laugh. “No pressure. No pressure.”



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*Musgraves,  
photographed in  
New York City*



# Modern Twang

Kacey Musgraves sings about gay rights and getting high. Why she's the future of country music

By Sam Lansky

**ON A STICKY** summer day in a midtown Manhattan studio, country singer Kacey Musgraves, 26, was rehearsing for a performance on *Late Night With Seth Meyers*. The night before, she performed her new single “Biscuits” to a rapturous crowd on *The Tonight Show Starring Jimmy Fallon*, but for Meyers she was unveiling a brand-new song, “Family Is Family.” The chorus goes like this: “Family is family, in church or in prison/ You get what you get and you don’t get to pick ’em/ They might smoke like chimneys but give you their kidneys/ Yeah friends come in handy but family is family.”

Musgraves sang these lyrics with gusto, over a twangy, syncopated beat, in what sounded like one impossibly long breath. She wore a guitar on a glittery strap, a garish statement necklace, bell-

bottom pants and several cans’ worth of hair spray. The stage was dressed like a tacky ’70s prom, streaked in purple and gold. For a moment, the effect was transporting, like being whisked away to a dusty Western saloon as imagined by John Waters—a trailer-park cabaret. Then she stopped. “Can I get some more steel?” she said, suddenly businesslike, wanting to hear more steel guitar in her monitors. A makeup artist, in a studded black leather jacket, flitted to her side for a touch-up; a hairstylist followed. Production assistants scuttled at her feet.

New York isn’t really Musgraves’ scene; nor is being on TV, though she’s good at it. She was mostly excited to get back to Nashville, where she lives, to celebrate the release of her new album, *Pageant Material*, out June 23. “My

album-release party is next week,” she says. “We’re having drag queens perform the record, pageant-style.” I ask whether they’re going to be in drag as her. “No,” she says, giving a quizzical look. “They’re just going to be themselves.”

That’s what Musgraves is all about, if you had to boil it down—folks just being themselves, gay or straight, stoned or sober. She’s earned a cult following for being at once deeply nostalgic in her traditional country sound and radically forward-thinking in her witty, offhandedly political lyrics. Raised in Golden, Texas, a tiny town best known for its annual Sweet Potato Festival, Musgraves says she grew up fascinated by the idiosyncrasies of small-town life. “In a big city, you can get away with being a total a--hole,” she says. “In a small town, you don’t have that luxury.”

She self-released three albums and competed on the USA talent series *Nashville Star*, placing seventh, before signing to Mercury Nashville in 2012. The next year, she released her major-label debut, *Same Trailer Different Park*, a tight set of airily produced, sharply drawn throwback country tunes penned with top Nashville songwriters Luke Laird and Shane McAnally.

Her breakthrough single, “Merry Go ‘Round,” was so warm and catchy you could almost miss how subversive it was: a withering depiction of the small-town America that most country songs revere. (Sample lyric: “Mama’s hooked on Mary Kay/ Brother’s hooked on Mary Jane/ And Daddy’s hooked on Mary two doors down.”) Despite the song’s weary tone, it landed in the Top 20 of the country charts and cracked *Billboard*’s pop chart, the Hot 100. “People who do live in small towns celebrate the honesty about it,” Musgraves says of her songwriting. Another song, “Follow Your Arrow,” urged listeners to “make lots of noise and kiss lots of boys/ Or kiss lots of girls if that’s something you’re into,” then advocated that they “roll up a joint—or don’t.”

“As much as it may not coincide with traditional themes, country’s always been about real life—real people,” Musgraves says. “These are things that every single person in America is dealing with. Why wouldn’t I want to write about life?”

At the 2014 Grammys, “Merry Go ‘Round” took the award for Best Country

Song. Later in the night, when *Same Trailer* won Best Country Album, the camera panned to Taylor Swift, who was also nominated. Swift, more amused than disappointed, turned and mouthed to a friend, “I told you.” That summer, Willie Nelson invited Musgraves to open several shows on his tour. (He gave her a joint as a souvenir; she had it framed.) She was also asked to join Katy Perry’s summer tour, and the two ended up taping a CMT special together. It’s a testament to Musgraves’ ability to cross genres—and generations—that she could so easily play both crowds. “She’s like the hipster country al-Jazeera,” Perry says. “She’s an authentic, colorful songwriter. She writes daringly about her experiences. She digs deep for stories, and it’s paying off.”

**COUNTRY MUSIC HAS** long been a bastion of conservative politics. When Dixie Chicks vocalist Natalie Maines made derogatory comments about George W. Bush in 2003, it effectively ended the band’s arc as country stars. Issues like gay marriage might serve as fodder for mainstream radio in songs like Macklemore & Ryan Lewis’ LGBT anthem “Same Love,” but country has grown more risk-averse still. Artists like Florida Georgia Line and Luke Bryan have been lambasted for launching what’s known as “bro-country”—slick tunes that are all about hot girls, pickup trucks and beer, themes unlikely to cause much stir among red-state listeners.

It’s tempting to read Musgraves’ popularity as a backlash to the increasing ubiquity of those artists, to whom she stands in stark opposition. Her choruses aren’t arena-size, and though her melodies are catchy, her songs are more old-fashioned than cutting-edge—too rootsy for pop

radio. Her visual style evokes Dolly Parton in its rough-around-the-edges kitsch rather than the smooth theatrics of Faith Hill and Shania Twain. Musgraves cites Glen Campbell and Ronnie Milsap as sources of inspiration, though she says she owes an aesthetic debt to Nancy Sinatra. “Once I figured out that I could use my traditional country influences to do something different,” she says, “I felt like that was the coolest thing I could do. Everyone is doing the opposite of that.”

Yet while the sound of *Pageant Material* looks backward, the lyrics feel thoroughly modern in both subject and sentiment. The opening track, “High Time,” is an ode to cannabis consumption; lead single “Biscuits” reinforces the laissez-faire politics of “Follow Your Arrow” by suggesting that people “mind their own biscuits and life will be gravy”; the title track takes on the beauty-industrial complex, with Musgraves offering, “It ain’t that I don’t care about world peace/ But I don’t see how I can fix it in a swimsuit on a stage.”

Still, her reach never exceeds her grasp—she sticks to what she knows best, taking down the insularity of small-town life on “This Town” and music-industry nepotism on “Good Ol’ Boys Club.” Musgraves nails what the bro-country crop ignores: smoking pot and interacting with gay people are no longer strictly the domain of blue-state liberals. Country music—the soundtrack for the heartland—can celebrate those themes as freely as it always has God, guns and country.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing is just how warm Musgraves’ reception has been. Calling her controversial, she says, is just media spin. “It’s funny that it’s been made such a talking point,” she says. “I believe people should do what they want with their own bodies. That’s not very progressive to me. These issues—if you watch the news, they’re becoming legal. The majority of the younger people that listen to my music don’t think twice about the things that I’m singing about.”

As for the ones who do, Musgraves is perfectly content for them to mind their own biscuits too. “It’s not meant to resonate with every single person in America,” she says. “This isn’t a telemarketing campaign. It’s fine if you don’t like it, but it’s made a lot of people walk a little taller.” She thinks on it for a moment. “Or change their mind about country music.”

*People should do what they want with their own bodies. That’s not progressive to me.*



# Time Off

'THE REAL ANSWER IS R2-D2.' —PAGE 58



Joy and Sadness represent two of the emotions clashing in a little girl's mind

## MOVIES

### **Inside Out's trippy ride through a strange land: the brain**

By Jeffrey Kluger

YOUR BRAIN DOES NOT OPERATE THE way the folks at Pixar say it should—and that's a pity. It goes about its job in its blobby, gray-white way, processing your fear, your sorrow, your joy in your amygdala, your limbic system, your prefrontal cortex, while your hippocampus handles your memories.

What your brain doesn't have is a mission-control room in a gleaming white tower staffed by five multi-colored characters—Joy, Sadness, Disgust, Anger and Fear—watching the world through your eyes and dialing up the right feeling for the right moment. What it also doesn't have is a great city laid out at the foot of the tower, with a movie studio where your dreams are made, a Goofball Island where your playfulness lives and a train of thought that is actually a train.

Your brain doesn't have any of that, but Riley's does. Riley is the 11-year-old girl (voiced by Kaitlyn Dias) in whose head we spend most of the mind-bending *Inside Out*, the latest release from Disney's animation Wurlitzer, Pixar. We meet Riley as a newborn when she opens her eyes and catches a glimpse of her cooing parents, and her first memory—in the form of a shimmering, yellow bowling ball of glass—rolls down a chute onto a shelf in the control room.

Joy (Amy Poehler) is at the controls at that moment, but soon enough Sadness (*The Office's* Phyllis Smith) turns a knob, the baby starts fussing, and another glass ball, this one blue, rolls down the chute. So it goes for Riley's first day of life—and every day thereafter—as hundreds of glass balls,

all color-coded, are collected and designated for storage.

That *Inside Out*'s story turns on a traumatic year in Riley's life in which she and her family move from bucolic Minnesota to an alien San Francisco—leading to bedlam in her emotional control room—is almost secondary. The same is true for the movie's brilliant casting. (Who else would you get to play Fear, Disgust and Anger but Bill Hader, Mindy Kaling and Lewis Black?)

The genius of *Inside Out* is the way it cunningly illuminates the workings of the brain, an organ that's always been mystifying in its complexity and opaque in its function. The heart looks like the pump it is. But the brain—still and silent and too cool for school? A riddle.

So *Inside Out* answers it. Jelly-bean-shaped workers walk the aisles of Riley's archives, vacuuming out the memory globes she no longer

needs—the names of all the glitter princesses she could recite in pre-K, say. That may not be how the brain actually works, but it's not exactly *not* how either. The same is true of a chamber called Abstract Thought, which turns characters Picassoesque when they enter, and an Imagination Land that stamps out make-believe boyfriends who all say, "I would die for Riley." Refracted through these hallucinogenic prisms, the real brain makes more sense.

Most important is what *Inside Out* says about your emotions. It may be Joy who leads the movie's save-Riley mission, but it is Sadness who makes sure it succeeds—with big assists from Disgust, Anger and Fear. Your mind contains multitudes, and as *Inside Out* makes clear, you need them all.

*Kluger is TIME's science writer and author of The Narcissist Next Door*

## MOVIES

# Dope injects urban struggle with John Hughes heart



Inglewood, Calif., high school senior and self-professed geek Malcolm (*Shameik Moore*, left) is so obsessed with '90s culture that he sports a Fresh Prince fade haircut. But writer-director Rick Famuyiwa's *Dope* itself seems inspired by '80s classics, as Malcolm and his best friends, Jib (Tony Revolori) and androgynous lesbian Diggy (charmer Kiersey Clemons), share a sweet, funny camaraderie straight

out of John Hughes. The frisky plot, meanwhile, is pure *Risky Business*, with Malcolm going to Joel Goodsen-like lengths to get out of the ghetto and into Harvard. His counselor orders him to ditch his notion of an unbeatable admissions essay—"If Neil deGrasse [Tyson] was writing about Ice Cube, this is what it would look like!"—in favor of a personal story about life in the 'hood.

Malcolm assiduously stays off those mean streets until the allure of a worldly beauty (Zoë Kravitz) lands him at an underground party where trouble is unavoidable. *Dope* mixes constant comic energy with a sense of genuine threat to its enterprising hero. Blessed with puppy eyes and fantastic timing, Moore may not dance in his underwear, but hearing Malcolm's punk band Awreeoh (yes, like the cookie) is nearly as good. *Dope*: not just another teen movie.

—MARY POLS

## QUICK TALK

# Christian Slater

In USA's new drama *Mr. Robot* (TV premiere June 24; the first episode is streaming online now), Slater, 45, plays the mysterious head of a computer-hacking collective. —DANIEL D'ADDARIO

**Were you particularly tech-savvy before you took this role?** I have to give my wife credit for being more savvy with that stuff and paying closer attention. An actor equals, sometimes, an entitled baby. People take care of things. In the past few years I have learned a great deal more. I pay my own bills now.

**You play the titular *Mr. Robot*. Who's your favorite robot?** The first thing that comes to mind is the robot from *Forbidden Planet*. But that could be me trying to be kitschy, cool and cultural, because the real answer is R2-D2.

**Mindy Kaling recently confessed a childhood crush on you.** She's mentioned me in a couple episodes of *The Mindy Project*, and my wife and I are huge, huge fans—I was charmed by it.

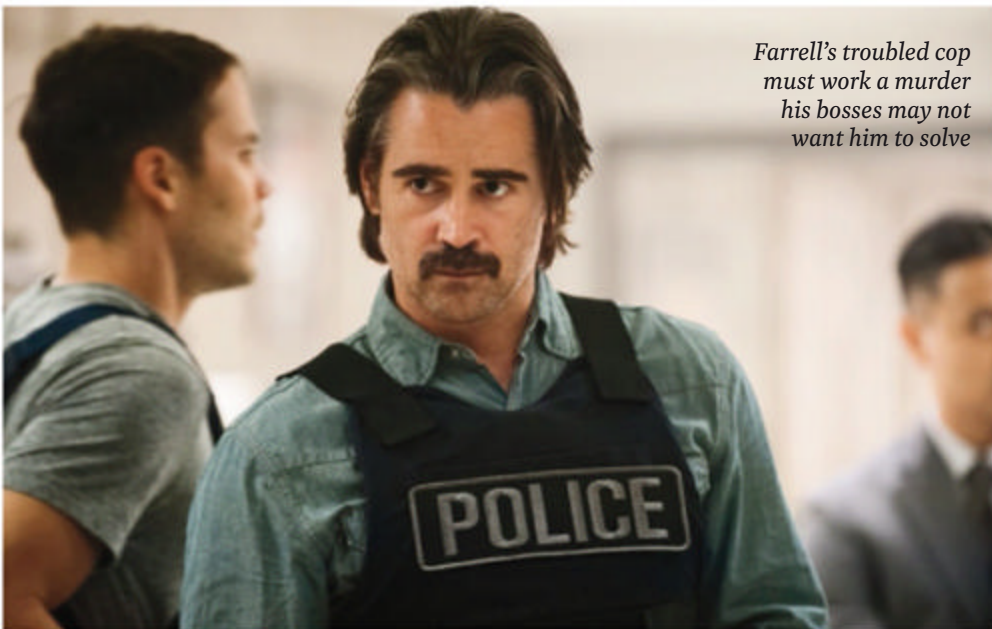
**Some 26 years after *Heathers*, how does life as a former teen idol treat you?** I'm an actor—I have an ego that is sometimes disproportionate to the reality of the situation. Sometimes

people come up to me and say, "You were my teen crush." I'm touched, but I also ask: *What happened? Why'd you take the poster down?* I get a little heartbroken in that situation. It's hilarious that a human can be that insane. I'm honored, and I feel a pang in my side.

**You've played Christian Slater in episodes of *The Office* and *Curb Your Enthusiasm*. What's the secret to playing oneself onscreen?** You can't try to be yourself. The less that I did, the better it all felt. Relax, go with the flow, and just try to stay the hell out of your own way.







Farrell's troubled cop must work a murder his bosses may not want him to solve

#### TELEVISION

## A lesser *True Detective* arrives far from Carcosa

THE YELLOW KING IS GONE. MATTHEW MCCONAUGHEY AND his Nietzschean monologues are gone. The Louisiana backwoods setting is gone, as is director Cary Fukunaga, who wove a haunting nightmarescape out of the bayou steam. What's left, in *True Detective* Season 2 (premieres June 21 on HBO), is creator-writer Nic Pizzolatto telling another hard-boiled—now twice-boiled—story of hard men, broken men and angry women (well, one woman, anyway).

The new season deposits us in tiny Vinci, Calif., less a town than a scam, a haven for sweatshop owners and a gold mine for corrupt city officials. Its symbol is Ray Velcoro (Colin Farrell), a whiskey-brined cop whose mustache droops like a flag of surrender. His decline started years ago when his wife was raped; his thirst for vengeance ended his marriage (he's fighting for custody of a son who may not be his biological child) and put him in hock to mobbed-up businessman Frank Semyon (Vince Vaughn). When a bureaucrat working to grease a high-speed-rail contract for Frank is found grotesquely murdered, Ray's bosses and his patron want him to handle the case—though not necessarily to solve it.

But competing jurisdictions saddle Ray with unwanted partners: Ani Bezzerides (Rachel McAdams), a scrupulous sheriff's detective with anger issues from her hippie childhood, and Paul Woodrugh (Taylor Kitsch), a highway motorcycle cop with anger issues from a stint as a mercenary in Iraq. She's anguished, he's anguished—there's so much showy pain here that Pizzolatto seems to be re-creating *Darkness at Noon*, the grim-cable-drama parody from *The Good Wife*.

The first *True Detective* had flaws—thinly drawn rural and female supporting characters—but its verbal confidence and

There's so much showy pain here that Nic Pizzolatto seems to be re-creating *Darkness at Noon*, the grim-cable-drama parody in *The Good Wife*

visual audacity made it feel unmissable. Season 2 (HBO screened three episodes for critics) loses the novelty and highlights the weaknesses. A crew of new directors create a more intimate but more TV-conventional look, as Pizzolatto leads his cops past a parade of vacant sex workers, greasy pimps and blowsy dames. The original's road-trip bull sessions and cat-and-mouse interrogations are replaced with clipped, portentous lines that play like poster copy: "I welcome judgment." "Never do anything out of hunger." "Everybody gets touched."

The season's lengthy casting search does pay off, partly. Farrell—functionally the show's lead even if it's presented as an ensemble—lets slip the hint of a better man under his sheath of bitterness and hair grease. McAdams is intense in a role defined mainly by being "angry at the entire world, and men in particular," as her guru father (David Morse) tells her. Vaughn, though, can't sell his semi-made man, coming off peevish instead of raging. As for Kitsch, he does his best in a role that, early on, largely asks him to seethe while carrying an unturn-offable lady magnet in his pants.

This could have been better, and might be yet. There's *Chinatown* potential in the premise of turning California infrastructure into gold, if the series can transmute its leaden angst. The most symbolic signature visual of the season is its aerial establishing shots of freeways, with their vast curlicued interchanges. For Season 1's Rust Cohle, time was a flat circle. Season 2 looks more like a tangle, going nowhere interesting.

—JAMES PONIEWOZIK

TIME  
PICKS

## TELEVISION

Rising star Dwayne Johnson makes **Ballers**, HBO's dramedy about an NFL player turned financial manager, more than just *Entourage* for athletes. It begins June 21.



## ^ MOVIES

**Infinitely Polar Bear**, out June 19, sees Mark Ruffalo and Zoe Saldana trading their Marvel heroics for a story about a bipolar man's family struggling with his disorder.

## BOOKS

**Blackout**, a memoir by Sarah Hepola out June 23, weaves a personal account of alcoholism with the science of why women are more prone to blackouts.

## v MUSIC

Pop-R&B vocalist Tori Kelly's debut LP **Unbreakable Smile**, out June 23, boasts production from Max Martin and Pharrell Williams.



## BOOKS

## The fall of a high-society dynasty

"PAIN IS FELT ONLY WHEN pain is felt!" CeCe Somner declares to herself a quarter of the way through Sophie McManus' debut novel, *The Unfortunates*. The numbness she seeks is to the psychic torment of multiple system atrophy, a cousin of Parkinson's, and the numerous frustrations of participating in a clinical trial for a drug that she hopes will halt its progression. Until her "opulent decline" in her chicly gray-haired 70s, CeCe has been a social queen and—speaking of psychic torment—a manipulative mother to Patricia, a lesbian whose sexuality has estranged her from the family, and to George, whose transgressions drive McManus' story of blue-blooded sangfroid.

CeCe is a steely broad, master of the Wasp zinger, who might call to mind Olive Kitteridge were it not for bank accounts to conjure Brooke Astor or Gloria Vanderbilt. (McManus researched and acknowledges both, along with Edith Wharton and E.M. Forster.) She grew up the spoiled daughter of a robber baron—a rubber baron, in fact—to become the spoiled ex-wife of a financier.

McManus misses none of the characteristics of her chosen species: "Mineral-blue eyes, turtled and almost lashless; translucent skin; chinless as pilgrims. Expensive teeth. Hairlines high up on their foreheads, alien, royal" goes the description of a pair of family friends. The exception is Iris, George's stunner



*The Unfortunates*  
a novel  
Sophie McManus

of a wife, plucked from the obscurity of checking coats and plopped into a lush life slinging condos in Stockport. In CeCe's eyes, Iris is insurmountably hardscrabble, a gold digger—and "the good daughter she never had." She's also one of the novel's only endearing characters, one for whom McManus

seems to have affection.

But disliking some of her cast makes for a powerful read. Especially in the case of George, strange and dangerous as he descends into the mental illness that has chased him all his life and leads him to subsidize the production of an opera, *The Burning Papers*, for which he has written a libretto about the end of civilization. It is panned as a racist folly, and it hastens the Somners' fall from the heights of pride, prejudice and privilege.

McManus on the page is as measured and purposeful as her doyenne. *The Unfortunates* is the opposite of un-put-downable; it's easy to steep yourself, take a break and then get sucked back in, like a Somner in the thrall of his own legacy.

—CLAIRE HOWORTH



## ^ NEW YORK, NEW YORK

McManus writes of city life with a journalist's shrewd eye, which she comes by naturally: she grew up in Manhattan, where her father was the top editor of Time Inc.



**Hillary Clinton's first Instagram photo** was of red, white and blue pantsuits with the caption "Hard choices."



Pepsi hinted it **might revive Crystal Pepsi**—the caffeine-free soft drink it axed in 1993—thanks to a fan-started petition. Will it take off? Here's how other resurrected foods and drinks have fared:



## SURGE

Coca-Cola partnered with Amazon last year to offer this citrus soda, discontinued in the early 2000s, online. It quickly sold out.

## MCRIB

Nixed from McDonald's national menu at least four times, it occasionally returns to participating restaurants.



## FRENCH TOAST CRUNCH

The cereal was toast in 2006; now it seems here to stay after General Mills brought it back in 2014.



## BK CHICKEN FRIES

They became permanent Burger King menu items this year, after being cut in 2012 and revived in 2014.



*Avengers* star Chris Hemsworth was **officially cast as the secretary** in the *Ghostbusters* reboot.

Hulu plans to build a **replica of Jerry's apartment from *Seinfeld*** to celebrate acquiring the rights to stream the show.

Scientists confirmed that a 15-year-old intern at Keele University in the U.K. **discovered a new planet** 1,000 light-years away.

TIME'S WEEKLY TAKE ON

# LOVE IT LEAVE IT

WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE

## Hot dog

Pizza Hut's latest creation: a pizza with **28 mini hot dogs baked into the crust**.



## Pizza

A truck carrying several live sharks, headed for a New York aquarium, **crashed in Florida**. One of the sharks died.

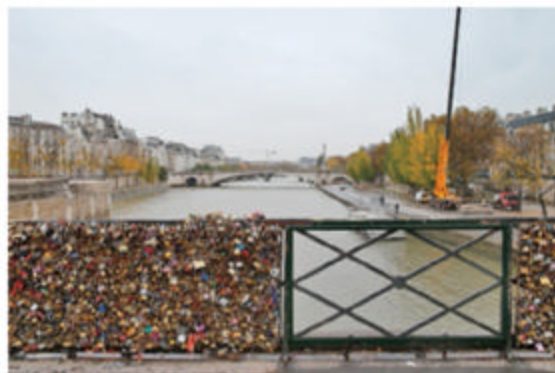
A U.K. banking company is allowing users to **set emoji-based passwords**.

Actor **John Stamos** was **arrested** in Beverly Hills for allegedly driving under the influence.



**'I'm that character in *Harry Potter* they can't talk about.'**

**LANCE ARMSTRONG**, disgraced athlete, on how U.S. TV stations treat him during cycling events



Paris authorities have started to **remove the famous "love locks"**—many of which were left by couples who wanted to make romantic gestures—from two bridges, the Pont de L'Archevêché, above, and the Pont des Arts, because of structural concerns.



THE AWESOME COLUMN

## Career change is all the rage. But what else could I possibly do?

By Joel Stein

THERE ARE SUBTLE SIGNS THAT YOU'RE NOT ADVANCING AT work. Like when you've had the same title, salary and responsibilities for a decade. And when your boss thinks it's a great idea for you to write a column about switching careers. So when I found out that *Risk/Reward: Why Intelligent Leaps and Daring Choices Are the Best Career Moves You Can Make* was written by Anne Kreamer—a very powerful media executive—I decided that promoting her book could help my career.

Kreamer's book argues that complacency is dangerous in a time of mass disruption, which would be an even more powerful message if it were delivered in an app or a six-second video instead of a book. Still, I knew she was right. I told her that although I enjoy my job, I no longer feel challenged. And while I have no interest in being challenged, I know it's the kind of thing successful people worry about, and I do want to be successful. "You critically need to unjack from *The Matrix* and try something new," she said. I think a better metaphor for leaving print magazines would be jumping off a horse-drawn carriage, but I got her point.



**I TOOK THE QUIZ** in her book and found out I'm a "Thinker" with the secondary characteristic of "Defender." I thought this was pretty good, since the other two categories were "Pioneers" and "Drifters," and neither of those did well in any episode of *Little House on the Prairie*. Kreamer thought this was a bad sign: I was vulnerable to having others determine my course in life. She told me most job opportunities come from people outside my industry. "I don't know if you're part of any groups, like women in book clubs or women in knitting groups?" she asked. I liked the idea of using my career search as an excuse to meet women, but Kreamer thought dating while married wasn't a great idea. I was also wondering if an expensive sports car might help.

In the book, Kreamer seeks advice about risk taking from people she admires, including Sheryl Sandberg and Jim Cramer. So I followed her example and

called Tess Vigeland, the former host of *Marketplace Money* and author of the upcoming book *Leap: Leaving a Job With No Plan B to Find the Career and Life You Really Want*. She warned that I had to be willing to take a pay cut and relinquish my identity, which seemed insane. I was looking for new challenges, not informing on the Mob to the FBI.

Although Vigeland said she disdained the word *networking*, she told me to network, just as Kreamer did. So I signed up for

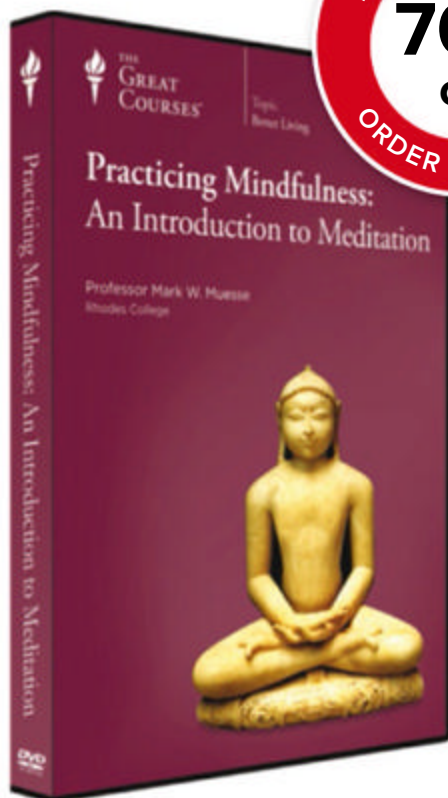
Weave, an app that is like Tinder for job searchers. In 15 minutes I clicked yes to the prospect of meeting 20 people, including a manager of a Vine celebrity, a rap blogger and a woman who teaches a practice called orgasmic meditation. One problem was that Weave looks so much like Tinder I kept clicking yes on attractive women regardless of their occupation. I was especially excited about one who I think is a headhunter. For her description she wrote, "Filter is company about People. We are a west coast creative digital staffing solution company. Whether you need to stuff up! Or considering to outsource your projects. We can support you!" She seemed like someone who could use the services of a writer.

**NO ONE PICKED ME** as a match since I wasn't a venture capitalist, coder or someone who got really, really excited while meditating. So I went to UCLA's career center to see if anyone there could help. Karol Johansen, who has counseled thousands of college graduates, gave me a Myers-Briggs personality test, which pegged me as an Extroverted, Intuitive, Feeling, Perceiving person. The top three jobs for that type are journalist, screenwriter and columnist. The Strong Interest Inventory Profile listed only one occupation I had very high interest in: reporter. The next best was librarian. So I went to see UCLA librarian Don Spring and asked him what the most fun part of his job was. Whatever he said, it wasn't "taking off my glasses and letting my hair out of its bun," which was the only thing I was hoping for.

It was mostly a relief to learn that I had found the only thing my brain was suited for. But I also knew that I had to attack the job market before it attacked me and that my metaphors were not as sharp as they used to be. Kreamer told me I should stay in my field but try some new things like stand-up comedy, on-camera reporting, acting or doing something else I'll definitely suck at. If anyone is interested, I'm on Weave.

ILLUSTRATION BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME





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**Larry Kramer** The AIDS activist, playwright and author is still pushing hard for gay rights and an HIV cure as HBO debuts a documentary about his life

**Did you ever imagine the U.S. would be where we are today in terms of widespread acceptance of gays?**

And a plague that's really causing genocide among gay people and people of color. What you get with one hand, you give away with the other. I didn't expect anything. I've learned never to expect anything. Be surprised.

**Do you think the gay community's focus on marriage is misplaced?** Well,

we have a lot of issues. There should be room for all of them. We don't have enough lobbying power in Washington. Many of them are out of the closet, but they're really not out of the closet. Not to the extent that they're willing to be activists, which means getting out there and showing yourself and being angry.

**You were married in 2013. What has the experience been like?** It's been

very complicated because no sooner than we got married, I got sick. And although we'd been together a long time, these are not our declining years as we've hoped to live them. I need a lot of tending to in terms of medical things and caretaking. Dave has really been tested.

**How would you rate Barack Obama's presidency?** Just as bad as all the earlier Presidents. There's not been a

single President since the beginning of AIDS in 1981 who has acted in a humanitarian fashion. The drugs that we have now are beginning to wear out. It's made billions of dollars for certain drug companies. There's no profit motive for them to find a cure because they make so much money with the drugs that they can sell.

**Your new novel, *The American People: Volume 1*, reimagines several U.S. Presidents as gay men. Should we read anything into this?** I wanted to

write the history of my America, and the history of my people. And everything in it is based on somebody who

really was that person who caused that thing to happen.

**The book comes in at 775 pages. Did you ever think you wouldn't finish it?**

They had not transplanted HIV-positive people with new livers, and I was a test case. So everyone thought I was going to die. I said, "I have no idea whether it's good or bad, but I'll leave you some money to get it published because no one will publish it."

**The new HBO documentary shows how willing to be abrasive you were. Has time tempered that?** It's the

same stuff. I just say it less vocally, less loudly. It hasn't shut me up at all. I just appear to be calmer. I don't see very many activists anymore, I'm afraid. ACT UP was this incredibly wonderful entity that got all the drugs out there, and that was the heyday for me of gay activism. We

**'I wanted to write the history of my America, and the history of my people.'**

had hundreds of dying young men who were willing to really fight. Now we don't have people who are as frightened as we were. So the motivation for activism aside from the marriage thing is nil.

**Was the original theatrical run of your play *The Normal Heart* received differently from last year's film adaptation?** Night and day. The New York

*Times* was very unkind and said I was creating a political statement or whatever, which indeed I was. What's wrong with that? But it caught on, and the kids—the guys—knew what I was about.

**What's your favorite piece of work you've done?** They're all my children. I love them all. I'm not ready to go yet. I've still got so much more work to do.

—DANIEL D'ADDARIO



RYAN PFLUGER FOR TIME



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